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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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## *WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.*

SERMON BY REV. WM. T. BUTLER—GEN. GRANT DECLARED RESPONSIBLE FOR SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

From the N. Y. Times.

A SPECIAL sermon, designed to commemorate emancipation in the West Indies, was delivered last evening at Zion Church, (colored), corner of Bleecker and West Tenth streets, by the pastor, Rev. Wm. T. Butler. The large church was quite well filled, many of the auditors being whites of both sexes.

The reverend gentleman commenced with the well-known words of Gen. Grant, "Let us have peace." After briefly alluding to the occasion which his sermon was designed to commemorate, he passed to the consideration of the present state of the country, and especially as respects the Republican party in its relations to our Government. He claimed to be quite familiar with the condition of things at the South at the present time. He did not learn it, however, from the public press, North or South. He was sorry to say that the papers did not give the condition of things as they existed. His information came from private sources, from numerous letters written to him by friends at the South, on whom he could rely implicitly. There is not, said the speaker, throughout all Tennessee, a Northern man, who is known to be such, who can be elected to any office of trust or profit. The men of the South are as determined as ever to have things all their own way. He alluded to the prophecy said to have been made by Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, while lying on his death-bed and but a few days before his decease. Some personal and political friends called upon the old gentleman, when the latter inquired, "What is being done?" They could answer him nothing, and then he said that unless the great party which had brought the war to a successful termination carried out promptly and vigorously the doctrine of reconstruction without compromise of its principles, it would soon cease to be a power in the land. He believed that was a true prophecy. The glory of that great and once powerful Republican party was already on the wane. Soon they would not be able to carry one State throughout all the South. He said he spoke whereof he knew when he said that the same old spirit which for so many years prior to the war controlled this country both North and South, still lingered there; nay, more, it was rampant. They were as determined as ever to control the South and the North as well. A great fight was coming, but it would not be a fight on the battle-field with rifles, bayonets and cannons. They had tried that thoroughly and failed most ignominiously. The fight was to be renewed in that field where they had always excelled; in that field where they had always outgeneraled the North; that field where for half a century and more they had proved more than a match for us—the field of politics. They have said to their rash men, like Forrest and others, that might be named, "Fall back." They have said to their bushwhackers, "Fall back. The North must be controlled by us as well as the South. We want none but conservative men to guide the Ship of State now." At the beginning of the war did not the colored men tell the North they did not understand the purpose, the metal or the spirit of the South; when the officials at Washington proposed to put down the rebellion in thirty days, did not the colored men laugh at them? Aye, the colored men knew the South much better than the white man of the North. The colored men knew the Southerners to be stubborn, chivalrous, proud. There would be a tough battle yet. The politicians and leaders at the South are determined to take possession of this Government. They, the colored men, had hoped something from Andrew Johnson, but they had hoped in vain. Then came the new President—Grant. From him they had hoped much. They had waited patiently, but thus far they had waited in vain. Gen. Grant, he believed, was trying an experiment which might prove fatal to himself and to the party which elected him. He was not only too conservative but he was weak. Mr. Walker had lately been elected Governor in Virginia by the Conservative party, which is the party supporting Grant's Administration. That party, throughout the South, is not the friend, but the sworn enemy of the colored man. He would instance one law which had been enacted by the party which elected Mr. Walker in Virginia—the Negro Vagrant act, so called. That law was so odious that the military authorities throughout the State had suppressed it. But withdraw the military power from the State, and the next day that act would be revived. The speaker was very severe upon the Grant and Walker party in Virginia. He believed the disintegration of the Republican party had already commenced. True it was that party that brought the war to a successful termination. It was a party which God in his wisdom seemed to have raised up for a particular purpose; its mission having been accomplished, and it having become so corrupt by reason of repeated successes, it was now about to fall to pieces. Before the next Presidential election a new party would be formed out of the fragments of others. In conclusion, the speaker alluded to the anarchy which at present prevails throughout the South. Murders are very frequent—he had the means of knowing that in one State alone twenty-one horrible murders had been committed within six weeks, and these mostly in consequence of political hatred and revenge. The people of the North did not understand the sad condition of things. One word from President Grant would stop all these outrages—one proclamation from him, and peace and good order might be restored there. But Gen. Grant, he thought, was the weakest President this country had ever had. The inevitable result of his weakness would be his own political ruin and the downfall of the Republican party.

## *EXTRACT OF AN ADDRESS BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.*

IN a recent speech on Emancipation Day, at Medina, N. Y., Mr. Frederick Douglass alluded to the case of his son and said:

In the days of slavery, when I was a slave, a negro having a master might work at any trade or calling in the Southern States, and at Washington, without any opposition. While his wages went into the pockets of another, while the bread that he earned in the sweat of his face was to be eaten by another, while he was to toil that another might live at ease, he could do so without opposition; but when he has his own mouth to feed, his own back to clothe, his own body to shelter, his own children to support and educate, the case is different. White bricklayers, white carpenters, and white printers combine to prevent any black man from working at these respective trades, and attempt to bend the Government to this narrow and selfish purpose. I think you will agree with me that the case is a hard one for the negro.

I have heard of putting men in a tight place, and have sometimes been severely pinched myself, but I know of no tighter place than that into which it is attempted to place the negro to day. If he steals, we send him to prison; if he begs, we spurn him from our doors as a good-for-nothing; if he attempts to work, we combine to prevent him and even threaten his life. I have intimated that the question has risen in the right place, and I may say, since it must come, I am, upon the whole, not sorry that I have a personal interest in its decision. For the moment, Lewis H. Douglass represents our whole people, rising from degradation to respectability and from proscription to equal rights. The principle involved is one for which every man ought to contest. It involves the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and it is the business of every American citizen, white and black, to stand for this principle, each for all and all for each, as the sheet anchor of a common safety.

I believe there never was a crime committed for which apologies of some sort could not be made, and the attempt to degrade and starve a colored printer at Washington is no exception to the general rule. It is alleged that he is an improper person to be allowed to work; that he has at one time of his life worked at a lower rate of wages than that fixed upon as the proper one by the Printers' Union; that he has worked in a town or city where such Unions existed, and did not become a member: that he has served no regular apprenticeship; that the card permitting him to work in the Government Printing Office was improperly issued, and much else of the same sort. My friends, I have neither time nor patience to expose and refute in detail these paltry allegations. From beginning to end they are miserable shams, designed to give a color of decency to one of the meanest acts of cruelty and injustice ever perpetrated against a fellow-man.

There is no disguising the fact—his crime was his color. It was his color in Denver, it was his color in Rochester, and it is his color in Washington to-day. In connection with this subject I have now a word to say of the goodly city in which I have lived for the last twenty years, and where I still reside—a city than which not one in the country is more civilized, refined and cultivated. It abounds in both educational and religious institutions, and its people are generally as liberal and friendly to the colored race as any other in this State, and far more so than most cities outside of the State. Here the common schools have been open to all classes alike for a dozen years, and colored and white children have sat on the same benches and played in the same school yards, and at the same sports and games, and they have done so in peace. I can say many good things of Rochester. The Fugitive Slave bill never took a slave out of its limits, though several attempts were made to do so.

When colored people were mobbed and hunted like wild beasts in other cities, and public fury was fanned against them by a malignant pro-slavery press, the colored man was always safe and well protected in Rochester, and yet I have somewhat against it. One of the saddest spectacles that ever assailed my eyes or pained my heart was presented in that city, and you will pardon me for making mention of it, though it is clearly personal. The same young man who is now at work at the Government Printing Office in Washington, and against whose employment so much feeling has been shown, was the subject. He had just returned from the war; had stood on the walls of Fort Wagner with Colonel Shaw; had borne himself like a man on the perilous edge of battle, and now that the war was nearly over, he had returned to Rochester, somewhat broken in health, but still able and willing to work at his trade. But, alas! he begged in vain of his fellow worms to give him leave to toil. Day after day, week after week, and month after month, he sought work, found none and came home sad and dejected. I had felt the iron of negro hate before, but the case of this young man gave it a deeper entrance into my soul than ever before.

For sixteen years I had printed a public journal in Rochester; I had employed white men and white apprentices during all this time; had paid out in various ways to white men in that city little less than a hundred thousand dollars, and yet here was my son, who had learned his trade in my office, a young man of good character, and yet unable to find work at his trade because of his color and race. Walking among my fellow-citizens in the street, I have never failed to receive due courtesy and kindness. Some men there have ever shown an interest in saving my soul, but of what avail are such manifestations where one sees himself ostracised, degraded, and denied the means of obtaining his daily bread.

There is no mistaking the purpose and destiny to which a portion of our white fellow-citizens would devote the colored people of this country. In the vigorous efforts now making to import Coolies from China—a kind of Asiatic slave trade—with a view to supplant the black laborer in the South, in the unwillingness to allow the negro to own land, in the determination to exclude him from all profitable trades and callings, there is clearly seen the purpose to crush our spirits, to cripple our enterprise, and doom us to a condition of destitution and degradation below all other people in America.

## *WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.*

EXTRACT OF A SPEECH BY WM. P. POWELL.

*At the celebration of British West India Emancipation at Brooklyn, August 2d, 1869.*

* * * It is fitting that we should set apart one day, in joyous commemoration of this glorious Thirty-sixth Anniversary of the Emancipation of 800,000 British West India slaves.

Every civilized nation has its tutelar saints and heroes. Almanacs are interspersed with red lines cannonizing this or that eventful period in their history. But for the negro, we have but one event, which next to the advent of the Saviour and the redemption of the world, is only worthy of celebration, viz., Emancipation from chattel slavery. It does not need even to be illustrated in emblematic calendars to remind us of its annual event, for it is written in the book of our every day life, and of the nations, which once oppressed our race.

The institution of human slavery dates its existence as far back as the Abrahamic dispensation, and took shape under Mosaic code of laws from Mount Sinai, in a somewhat questionable modified form. Its ancient barbarisms were doubtless as cruel as they were horrible in our modern form of Christian civilization.

At all events, whether its barbarisms were justifiable under the authority of divine inspiration, as claimed by the old dispensation, we find no authority for their existence, to say nothing of the bloody catalogue of atrocities in the teachings of *Christus Consolator*. Therefore human slavery under any form, whether inflicted upon the white or black race, is of the devil not of God, and therefore should be immediately and unconditionally abolished wherever it exists. "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof," is the Divine injunction.

Previous to the discovery of this continent by the immortal Columbus, and long before the invasion of Britain by the Romans, and for centuries after, the Anglo-Saxons, Gauls, Franks, Goths and Vandals were held as slaves to each other. Britons were transferred and sold as slaves in the Celtic shamble, as well as in Rome—the same as our forefathers were stolen from Africa, and sold and held in slavery in this year of Grace, 1869.

The great struggle for the disenthralment of the human race commenced when the founder of Christianity made open declaration before the Jewish Sanhedrim, and said, "I come to break the bonds of the oppressor."

With regard to the enslavement of our race on this continent, which began at the close of the fifteenth century, we are indebted to civilized Europe and America for our enthralment, viz., England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Denmark. These nations first and last robbed Africa of not less than twenty millions of her children, in the name of a crucified Jesus.

St. Pierre says, "If you fasten a chain around the ankle of another, a retributive Providence will surely fasten the other end around your own neck." The accursed thing—*Achan's* golden wedge—negro slavery, was the gospel millstone chained to the neck of civilized Christians. Millions of victims have been sacrificed in the interest, propagation and perpetuity of its monstrous atrocities. Millions of souls engaged in the abominable traffic, and who perpetuated these wrongs before high heaven, have been according the anathemas of the four gospels, last and eternally damned. Nations, more particularly, Greece, Rome, Spain, Portugal, England and America, have also paid the penalty for this sin of sins, "Shall I not visit for these things, and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation," saith the Lord?

God's word is full of power and truth, and will not return to him void.

Having said this much, by the way of introduction, we recur to the event which gives occasion for this celebration. The act of the British Parliament which proclaimed emancipation to 800,000 slaves of African descent, was but a milk and water declaration at best. For, to use a figure of speech, British Legislation skimmed all the nutritious cream from the rich milk of liberty, and gave the slaves the skimmed milk. Any dairywoman well knows that skim milk is used to mix feed for swine. The British Planting Legislature passed a law *reducing* the West India slaves to a lower grade of freedom, viz., the odious apprenticeship law—fed them on skim milk liberty—skim milk religion—skim milk education. Whilst the planting landholding aristocracy were fattening upon the delicious cream—white man's liberty.

But the day of retributive justice came upon them like a thief in the night, and whilst the gormandised British conspirators, like the satiated boa-constrictor, overburdened with the spoils, God puts his finger in the scales of *human justice*, "and up they bounce a bubble,"—and like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind. The apprenticeship law failed in its vile purposes; and compensated emancipation was the shameful result.

If the 100,000,000 dollars which the British nation paid the owners—or I might say compounded with the "brotherhood of thieves"—had been paid to the emancipated British West India slaves, there would have been some show of justice in the act. But I suppose we must be thankful for the time being, and be satisfied for the smallest favors, and bide our time; and so the Lord be praised. There is, however, one redeeming feature in this act for which we also need to be thankful—that is, the consequent concession of compensated liberty to 800,000 slaves without bloodshed, is unparalleled in the world's history.

"Send the glad tidings o'er the sea,—
His chains are broke, the slave is free;
Britannia's justice, wealth, and might
Have gained the Negro's long-lost right!
His chains are broke, the slave is free,—
This is the Negro's jubilee!

"Hail! blessed and auspicious day!
Dear is thy first bright dawning ray,
Which comes, an angel from above,
Herald of freedom, joy and love:
Thy breezes whisper, 'Slave, be free!'—
Now is the Negro's jubilee!

"O Thou, whose favor long was sought,
What full deliverance hast thou wrought!
The captive's groan has pierced thine ear,
And thou hast wiped the falling tear.
The curse is past, the slave is free!
This is the Negro's jubilee!

"Our prayers shall now with praise combine,
For freedom poured on every clime;
For holy freedom, gracious Lord,
To join a world in sweet accord:
Then, freed from sin, from error free
We'll keep a brighter jubilee!

Eighteen years ago this day I participated, with many of you, in the rejoicings of this anniversary. Then we were in the midst of, and in the power of a slaveholding nation. 4,000,000 of our race in this country were American slaves. 500,000 more were but nominally free—had "no rights which white men were bound to respect. Then it was we hung our harps on the tree of slavery, and sat by the riverside of American injustice, and refused to sing the song of the Declaration of American Independence in this the land of our nativity. We were but a handful in comparison to our oppressors. 27,500,000 white men, women and children, systematised into States and central government, with a powerful army and navy arrayed against 4,500,000 unarmed, inoffensive, defenceless, ignorant negroes. Oh! what a sad spectacle the black men, women and children of this country presented to the gaze of the cold charity of the world in 1851. Fugitive slaves flying hither and thither to elude the hideous yells of the two legged, Northern Yankee bloodhounds. But God be thanked, great changes have transpired since then. Let us hastily try to enumerate them. Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, and in the United States and all the Territories, by Proclamation and Constitutional Amendment. The slave trade, and Inter-State slave-trade forever abolished. Negroes admitted to equal rights in the United States Courts, and of the several States and territories. The Federal and State governments forbidden to make any invidious discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The black government, of Hayti and Liberia recognized and acknowledged Independent governments. The international chain of the comity of nations, which encircles the Globe, is now complete. * * * * * * * * *

A black ambassador to a foreign government, viz., Hon. E. D. Bassett, to Hayti, and Hon. C. Langston, to Liberia. Besides, colored men Postmasters, Internal Revenue officers, Lieut.-Gov. Dunn, and Cardozo, Secretary of State for the State of South Carolina, I. C. Gibbs, Secretary of State for the State of Florida, Sheriffs, Deputy Sheriffs, Magistrates, Judges, State Senators, and members of Legislatures, for the several States; and last of all the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing equal suffrage to our despised race. Twenty-four States are reported as having already ratified the Amendment, and only three more required to finish up the work. What next?

It is proposed to offset our enfranchisement by introducing Chinese emigrants to keep down the price of labor. They tried that experiment sixty years ago by opening the doors of the Republican edifice, bidding the Teuton and Celtic race to come in and drink freely of the cup of American liberality—and keep down the negro. Did they succeed? The past history of the nation is our answer.

When General Washington tried to deceive the black picket as a test of his fidelity by giving the wrong Countersign—*Salem.*—"No dat am not it." *Roxbury.*—"No dat am not it." Lowell.—"Dat am not it." It's no use Massa Washington, unless you say *Cambridge* you can't pass. So we say to this nation of would-be hypocrites: if you don't stereotype the word liberty in its broadest significance on the frontlets of every man, woman and child everywhere—you can't pass the Picket of eternal justice.

I am a revolutionist from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot, and therefore am in sympathy with Cuba and Hayti. With Cuba, because hundreds of thousands of my race are held in slavery in that unfortunate country. With Cuba—because the success of the revolutionists means liberty to the dusky sons of Africa. With Cuba—because the abominable slave trade will be abolished. With Cuba because the area of freedom will be so enlarged that the sickly nation of Portugal will be compelled to put an end to slavery in her own dominions.

Our sympathies are with Hayti in her efforts to maintain her nationality. What Hayti wants to-day is from 5,000 to 10,000 able-bodied black soldiers—such as have seen service in the United States army and navy. With Hayti, because it is high time that that unfortunate island had peace at home and pleasure abroad, so that she may develop and solve the problem and science of a popular Republican government. We also pray God that the government and allies of Brazil may be defeated in every battle—until the million and a half slaves in that country are declared free. No nation has a right to enlist the sympathies of the civilized world, where one race is held in chattel slavery by another race. "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof."

## *THE FREEDMEN.*

REPORT OF MRS. J. S. GRIFFING, AGENT OF THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—AN APPEAL TO THE CHARITABLE.

From the Washington Chronicle.

IT becomes the painful duty of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of this District to announce to the public that the aged and disabled destitute people of this city are now in great want of food.

Among the sufferers are both white and colored, but principally they are that class of freed people who were emancipated at an age or in a physical condition, when self-support was impossible.

Nearly all of these people were brought to this District in consequence of the war and its results, either as contrabands or freedmen, and no provision being made for them in the States from which they came they could not return nor be sent back, and have been recognized as wards of the General Government, and special relief has from time to time been appropriated for their subsistence.

The burden to the city government of educating the colored children of the freedmen being from $60,000 to $70,000 annually, it could not be expected to do more.

Of these destitute persons, since April 1st about five hundred and fifty families per month, averaging two persons each, have been the recipients of relief appropriated last winter for their necessities. During the cold weather a considerable larger number were found to be suffering who required relief—of these widows and children were the applicants.

The subsistence given has been a monthly allowance of meal, (or flour,) tea, (or coffee,) sugar, rice, crackers, soap, and candles. Very little meat has been furnished, as these aged and generally feeble persons prefer a quarter of a pound of tea and a pound of sugar to three pounds of meat per month—partly, it is presumed, because charitable neighbors oftener give them pieces of meat than tea or coffee. This monthly allowance varies but little from the amount of two dollars per month to each person.

During the winter months about $7,000 were expended from the same appropriation in fuel, and about $1,000 in shoes. To the destitute of Georgetown $5,000, and to the county of Washington about the same amount, were set apart from that fund for the same class of sufferers.

No clothing has been purchased from the appropriation of last winter. But so great was the necessity for the extremely aged and the orphan children that we have laid their cases before the benevolent Friends and societies in the North, and have received and distributed garments (mostly new) valued, as per invoice, at $1,600, and yet there are many of the above-named entirely destitute of some of the essential garments of clothing, and without aid must suffer exceedingly in the coming cold season. We need help in clothing. No blankets having been furnished from this fund, we have succeeded, by earnest appeal to the relief societies, in securing donations of considerable bedding, which gave partial relief to the sufferings of last winter.

Three barrels of beans and three of dried apples were given us from the North for distribution to the poor, which have been carefully apportioned, the latter entirely to the sick, which gift has been gratefully appreciated. At the same time that we have disbursed subsistence to the *aged* who could *not labor*, we have sought employment for the young and unencumbered in the States where the demand for labor was not supplied; and by persistent efforts and much correspondence have secured for them transportation from the employers, to be refunded in labor, and have transferred during the spring and summer several hundreds who were unemployed here to homes, and have secured for them compensating labor. Reports from both employers and employed show this to be not only a measure of mutual relief and benefit, but of political economy, deserving more encouragement than it has heretofore received.

One great cause of destitution among the colored people here is owing to the fact that one-third of the laboring men of families and the widows with children are most of the time but partially employed. The profits of the full labor of those who are willing to and begging for work would not only supply their own wants, but afford ample provision for the children and aged ones belonging to them. The wants and sufferings of this class of able-bodied cannot be pressed upon the General Government, and all efforts to transfer any considerable number of them have been met with objections on account of children and old people.

The introduction of manufactures, such as cotton factories, shoemaking and brickmaking, paper, grist, and saw mills, would soon absorb the surplus labor of this market, and prove a remedy to many evils which now hold the mastery here. Indeed, we see no help for the poor of this city from its present resources. If the city proper cannot invite this enterprise, should not the General Government offer such honorable inducements to capital as to secure at least a safeguard against the perpetual pauperism of one-eighth of its population, with its consequent suffering, and at the same time so enchance the value of industry and real estate as to avert the future bankruptcy of the city government, and make this a glory, instead of a shame, among the capitals of the nations of the earth.

The time for thought and action in reference to labor and bread has fully come, and is by no means one of mere speculation. The earnest plea of strong men for work and the cries of the aged for bread, while tottering over the grave, forbid us to remain indifferent or inactive.

It is believed by the good men in this nation that these worn-out slaves will not be ignored by the General Government. They are not criminals or paupers for lack of industry or thrift, nor for calamities growing out of their own mistakes; but on the contrary, have given their labor and their children to slavery, which has made them what they are. It would be dishonorable to the Government, and a crime against God and humanity, to liberate them from slavery to perish for want of bread.

It is earnestly hoped that Congress will at its next session settle upon some provision, not large, nor long required, that shall not depend upon the special efforts of individuals in their behalf.

But there is an interim, threatening to be one of great peril, between this and the time that Congress will be likely to take action upon their case, that calls for private charity as a last resource.

We are now only able to give to the aged, the blind, and the helpless about one peck of meal per month, which is not enough to avert great suffering and probable starvation of some, who are already perishing from want of the necessaries of life.

We trust this brief statement of their condition will elict investigation, and we will gladly give names and residences to any who will go through the city and seek out in the garrets, cellars, and shanties of the alleys those patient sufferers that for five years past we have visited and struggled to relieve.

We also hoped for immediate contributions, which be sent to George E. Baker, treasurer of the National Freedmen's Association, District of Columbia, or to S. J. Bowen, president of the Relief Society.

Mrs. J. S. GRIFFING,
Agent N. F. R. A., District of Columbia.

## *LETTER FROM MRS. GRIFFING.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 10th, 1869.

AARON M. POWELL—*Dear Sir*:—It might help the cause of the freedmen, North and South, if you could publish the accompanying circular. The business men of the North are paying large wages for labor, and seem not to know that here are a million men, in the South, who not only *can* work but are willing, and an experience of five years, in which time I have transferred over six thousand to individual homes and compensating labor, proves them *good hands*. Let Northern farmers know *this*. Thousands of women are demanded in the homes of the manufacturing States—and high wages are paid for housework. This city is literally overflowing with unemployed women. Mostly they have children, it is true. The young women here and south of this city might go, and greatly better the condition of all classes, and learn a thrift that the race has not attained. But the prejudice imbedded in flesh and bone against cold weather and "Yankees" makes them afraid to go. Your paper, in the South, can throw light upon the subject, if you will say that hundreds of women have gone to the Eastern States this season, who are laying up money in the *banks*, are learning the most improved style of housework and housekeeping, and are prepared to become missionaries to the South in the higher forms of labor, and the general knowledge that the colored people of the South could not acquire in slavery of domestic economy. The uprooting of prejudice in the black race of the South, as well as the white people of the North, is a hard work and a very slow one, and is the great, real obstruction, to the regulation of labor and capital, and a general national prosperity. Faithfully, J. S. GRIFFING.

## *USED TO IT.—NOT USED TO IT.*

BY GERRIT SMITH.

USED to it. Not used to it. These and equivalent phrases explain many things in human conduct, which cannot be explained otherwise.

Slavery is the superlative piracy. Nevertheless our people clung to the politicial parties, which upheld it. They were used to doing so, and therefore continued to do so. Had these parties come to patronize piracy on property, their members would have hurried away from them. For, although to rob a man of his possessions is an infinitely less guilty form of piracy than to rob him of himself, and although they could, by force of use, remain in parties, which upheld a worse crime than murder, they would have instantly recoiled from parties, that set out to sanction this other crime—this comparative peccadillo. No right-minded parent denies that slavery is a worse crime than murder, for there is no right-minded parent, who would not rather have his child in the grave of the murdered than under the yoke of slavery.

It is in respect to the dram-shop as it was in respect to slavery. Our people having always belonged to the parties, that uphold this great manufactory of paupers, incendiaries, madmen and murderers, keep on belonging to them. Quickly, however, would they forsake parties, which should come to protect theft or forgery. And, yet, even theft and forgery would, in the light of their comparatively trivial effects, almost whiten into virtues by the side of dram-selling. In this case, as in that of slavery, we see that men will spare the greatest of crimes, if only they are used to sparing them. Our worthy Senator, Mr. O'Donnell of Lewis County, would not consent to remain a day longer in his political party should it so much as wink at horse-stealing. Nevertheless you cannot get him to say that he will ever quit it, do it however much more than it is now doing to uphold the dram-shop. And this is so, notwithstanding he would rather have all his horses stolen than have his son take his first drink of death where drunkards and murderers are made. And this is so, too, notwithstanding our political party issues were never fewer nor feebler than they now are, and our parties consequently never in so favorable a mood to listen to arguments against the dram-shop.

One reason why Senator O'Donnel and thousands of other earnest Temperance men can consent to cling to a party, though it shall never cease to sustain the dram-shop, and would, at the same time, instantly and indignantly refuse to belong to one, which should sanction the comparatively petty crime of theft, is that whilst they are unused to seeing well-meaning and respectable men amongst thieves, they are used to seeing them, here and there, amongst dram-sellers. It is true that there are wrong-doers who, being unconscious that they are such, may therefore retain some good traits of character. The darkness in which they grope makes this possible. When, however, we are judging of their deeds, we are not to go down into their darkness, but to stand up in our own light. We are to judge of dram-selling by its own evil character, and we are not to soften our judgment by considering what good there may be in the character of this or that dram-seller. So far, indeed, from this, we are to bear in mind that the better the man whose occupation is bad, the worse the influence of his occupation.

I see in the newspapers the proceedings of a State Temperance Committee assembled recently at Saratoga. Not one word is there in these proceedings of their duty to quit their parties, even though these parties should never quit their league with dram-shops. The members of this Committee are used to staying in their parties "through thick and thin;" and stay in them therefore they will, even though the policy of these parties should become a more and more rum-soaked one. Nor a word is there in these proceedings of the duty of Government to protect person and property. How could there be, when the Committee knew so well that the first step in discharging this duty is to suppress the dram-shop—that nuisance which does more than all things else to peril person and property! Nay, so far is this Committee from inculcating or even recognizing the obligation of Government to forbid the very great crime of dram-selling, as to imply that it shall be suffered to exist in those localities where the people wish it to exist. Would this Committee say that Government may rightly leave it to the people of the town to decide whether in such town theft or forgery shall be committed with impunity? Certainly not. Why then may Government tolerate in the locality, that is tenacious of the accursed thing, the far greater crime of dram-selling? The inconsistency of these gentlemen is explained by the fact that they are used to seeing Government deal with theft or forgery as a crime, and not used to seeing it deal thus with dram-selling.

It is true that in one of their Resolutions the Committee bristle up into a "demand" upon the "next Legislature." Reading farther, however, we find that this "demand",—this big word—is not for prohibition, but is only for measures that will "*tend* to prohibit the sale of intoxicating beverages." Vain is this demand, not only because men will differ, both ingenously and disingenously, as to what will thus "*tend*," but because the "demand," not being backed up by the declared purpose of withdrawing from parties that shall persist in licensing the dramshop, but accompanied by the well-known purpose to continue in them, must be utterly impotent and farcical.

Alas, how this Committee trifles with the pressing and distressful needs of the people! Alas, how these needs were trifled with by the Syracuse Convention, which appointed this Committee! How unfair it was for men to come to that Convention, postponing in their hearts the cause of Temperance to the claims of party! How immeasurable the damage done to this dear and sacred cause by that Convention's evading with shilly-shally words and deceptive Resolutions the imperative duty of telling the dram-shop parties, that if they will persist in sustaining the dram-shop, the people will be bound to withdraw from them!

Used to it, and not used to it! How many things we do from no higher reason than that we are used to do them! And how many things we leave undone from no more worthy reason than that we are not used to do them! How needful that we rise so far above our habits, as to be able to plead reason rather than our habits for our doings and our not-doings. What a vast and blessed revolution would, in this wise, be achieved, in our politics, morals, religion, and, in short, in all our relations! A man may, from habit, be a slave to rum and rum-parties—but, surely, reason bids him quit both.

I see that the two most prominent objections to a prohibitory law continue to be harped on:

1st. To make it a very odious encroachment on domestic freedom, it is called a sumptuary law—whereas it does not search the family, nor forbid the family from supplying itself with liquors. It is *dram-selling* only that it forbids. The prohibitory law bears no resemblance to a sumptuary law. The object of a sumptuary law is to regulate the living of the people. The object of the prohibitory law is to protect their person and property. We do not ask Government to espouse any moral reform—not even the Temperance reform; and the only reason why we ask it to suppress the dram-shop is because the protection of person and property being the province of Government, it is bound to protect the people from the burnings, maimings and murders chargeable on the dram-shop. We admit that incidental to such suppression would be an incomputable benefit to the cause of Temperance. But surely, there is nothing in this to excuse Government from suppressing the dram-shop. Neither the good nor ill, which is incidental to any of the necessary work of Government in protecting person and property, should be confounded with that work or included in its responsible aims. I repeat it—we do not ask Government to help the Temperance Reform. We leave that reform in the hands of the people alone. But this is no reason why Government should put obstacles in its way—least of all, the insuperable obstacle of the dram-shop. I would add in this connection that, although it may be proper, and indeed very important, for the friends of Temperance to dissuade from drinks which do but dull the drinker, Government nevertheless is to concern itself about no other drinks than those which craze him and make him a fearful peril to the public safety. Drinks, which merely stupefy, are no more to be noticed by Government than are dinners which merely stupefy.

It is to be regretted that any prohibitory law *names* the proscribed drinks. Intoxicating or unintoxicating should be the only legal distinction between the proscribed and the permitted drinks: and the law should leave it to the jury to decide in each case of prosecution whether the drink in question is or is not intoxicating—is or is not crazing—is or is not a drink, which makes the drinker perilous to the public. The difference at

this point in different prosecutions would be a small evil compared with the law's declaring that drinks of this or that name are to be held, in advance, to be intoxicating. The leaving of this, the chief question, to a jury—to the people—would be a highly popular feature in the law.

2d. The other objection to a prohibitory law is that it cannot be enforced. I own that it cannot be by such Governments as the world is generally cursed with. It was folly to expect that the Governments, which protected slavery in our country, would defend human rights: and it were folly to rely on Governments, which look directly or indirectly to the dram-shop for their support, to be virtuous enough to go against it. A new style of Governments is needed. Nor will that need be supplied until we shall have a new style of people. Nor this, until there be a new style of politics. Nor will Governments, people, or politics be what they should be until a new style of religion shall underlie and remould them all. A religion of dogmas and mysteries which, as we have always seen, can, as the occasion of the hour may call for, be turned for or against slavery and for or against rum and for or against other abominations, will not suffice to work the changes for which the world is perishing. Indispensable to this end is the prevalence of the religion of reason and righteousness—the religion of intelligible common sense—the religion of practical justice and goodness—the religion which Jesus so happily declared is taught by our God-given nature, when he said to the multitude: "And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" Let this be the religion of the pulpits of our land for five years, and there would be scarcely a dram-shop left in the land—not so much as one with the consent of Government. Come blessed day! come quickly! That day will not be hastened by such a Convention and such a Committee, as I have referred to in this paper—nor by any other Convention or Committee, which, ingeniously and cunningly, tries "How not to do it" under the semblance of "How to do it." I saw in the newspapers that an eloquent gentlemen preached a sermon in the recent Camp Meeting near Troy on the *possible simultaneousness of justification and santification*. I could but think how much more good he would have done if, instead of preaching that sermon, he had simply said: "I have sinned against the Lord in that I made a speech in that sham Temperance Syracuse Convention, my leading object in which was to protect the Republican Party, when it should have been to overthrow the dram-shop at whatever expense to political, ecclesiastical or any other parties." Perhaps, I undervalue the theme of this sermon—such themes being quite too deep for my shallowness, and quite outside of my practical, two-and-two-make-four type of religion.

I am conscious that I weary the public ear with my many words against the dram-shop and dram-shop parties; and that I may be thought to take credit to myself for having very sternly refused for these forty years to allow intoxicating drinks to be sold in my buildings, and for as sternly refusing to vote for candidates who are in favor of the dram-shop. But these things do not minister to my self-complacency. There were especial reasons, but no especial merit on my part, for them. In the light of the fact that the dram-shop has poured floods of wretchedness and ruin through several of the latest generations of my kindred, I should be a monster of insensibility and unnaturalness were I to take any lower ground than I do in my war upon it. If others who are more distant and, therefore, less-afflicted witnesses of the horrors of intemperance, can be excused for keeping peace with dram-shop parties, with dram-shops, with the manufacturing of their death-drinks, or with the furnishing of materials for their manufacture, it, by no means, follows that I can be—I, who have, nearly all my life-time, been brought into contact with those horrors, and have seen so many near and dear ones writhing and perishing in them.

July 28th, 1869.

## *DISTINGUISHED NEGROES.*

I HAVE often had gentlemen from Peru, Mexico, and Cuba introduced to me as my "countrymen" by persons of education even, and I once walked five miles to see a man in Italy, whom I was told was an American who would be glad to see a "fellow-citizen," upon arriving at whose villa, I found to be a Brazilian, of a color which, I am afraid, would keep him out of "society" in the United States.

Being black does not, however, affect a man's character or chances of success in Paris, where there is not the slightest prejudice against color, and where a negro is received and treated in the same way as a white man of his rank, education, and wealth would be. At the schools and colleges white and black children sit side by side; and in marching through the streets, on their way to exercise in the gardens, a white and black boy are often seen arm in arm. There are no "negro pews" in the churches; at balls and parties, public and private, persons of color mingle indiscriminately with whites; and at the Imperial balls at the Tuileries it excited not the slightest remark to see a "black Republican" from Hayti whirling through the labyrinth of the waltz with a blue-eyed, fair-haired daughter of France. Indeed, it is no unusual thing in the streets of Paris to see negroes riding in their own carriages, driven and attended by white servants in livery. I was once not a little amused, when present at the formal ceremony of the opening of the Senate at seeing in the diplomatic box the minister from Hayti, about whose color there could be no question, and who, as the master of ceremonies doubtless supposed, with singular appropriateness, was placed by the side of our Secretary of Legation, then acting as minister. The latter was a gentlemen from South Carolina, who could not have been particularly delighted at the proximity of his colleague. As our Government had not then "recognized" that of Hayti, our representative did not appear disposed to recognize his brother *diplomat*.

Some of the most celebrated men in France, in the ranks of literature and art, some of the most polished and gayest cavaliers have been, and some of the principal celebrities of the present day are, negroes. Glancing back to the last century, we find among the brilliant throng which surrounded the court of Louis the Sixteenth at Versailles, St. George de Boulogne, a native of Guadaloupe, a writer of elegant verses, in person a model of manly beauty, and in manner one of the most polished of courtiers. The chronicles of the time represented him as one of the favored lovers of Marie Antoinette, and he it was that carved with his skates upon the basin of Neptune, at Versailles, pretty sonnets, inscribed to the ladies of the chateau. Under the Republic he became a Colonel of Hussars, and was celebrated for his bravery and address.

Gen. Dumas, the father of the popular romancer of the present day, was a native of the then French colony of St. Domingo, a general-in-chief of the armies of the Republic in 1794, and the intimate friend of Hoche, Kleber, and Marceau. The mother of Dumas was a full-blooded negress. His name is inscribed among those of the brave men chiselled in the imperishable marble of the *Arc de Triomphe*, and he was considered one of the most daring and devoted generals of the Republic. Upon the accession of Napoleon to the Imperial throne of France, Gen. Dumas, who had followed him in Egypt, might, had he chosen to have resigned his principles, have become a duke and a marshal.

Julian Raymond of St. Domingo, a deputy to the National Assembly of 1789, distinguished himself in that body and left a number of works upon political subjects. Lethiers, of Guadaloupe, was an eminent painter of the Imperial epoch, and a Member of the Institute of France. Lethiers, under the first Empire, when the moustache was monopolized by military men, persisted in wearing his, although a civilian. For this audacity, because such it was considered in those days, he was led into several duels with military officers, from which, however, he always came off victor. He was sent to Rome as Director of the French Academy of Fine Arts, by Napoleon, who imagined that to be the only mode of putting an end to these continued quarrels. Several paintings of Lethiers are to be seen in the galleries of the Louvre.

Bissette, a native of Martinique, at first marked for the axe of the executioner, was condemned to imprisonment at hard labor in 1825, for having received from France a pamphlet in which the political rights of people of color were demanded. By active energy and influence this sentence was reversed, and Bissette came to Paris where he was regarded as a martyr, and soon became the intimate friend of Gen. Lafayette and Benjamin Constant. In the Revolution of 1830 Bissette took an active part, for which he received from Louis Philippe the Cross of July, and was made an officer in the National Guard of Paris. He then founded a journal called the *Revue des Colonies* the principal object of which was to bring about the abolition of slavery, and he was still demanding this with extraordinary perseverance, skill, and vigor, when the Revolution of 1848 gave liberty to the slaves of the colonies of France. In the Constituent Assembly he sat as deputy from Martinique, and upon the fall of the Republic was created a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the present Emperor.

At the head of the men of color, at the present day celebrated in France, is Alexander Dumas. He is himself a native of France, and the son of the celebrated general. Among literary men who are either negroes or mulattoes are, also, Eugene Chapus, a native of Guadaloupe, a pleasing and refined writer, at present the principal editor of the journal *Le Sport Français*; M. Felicien Mallefille, a romancer and dramatist, author of the *Memoires de Don Juan*, *Les Sept Enfants de Lara*, and a comedy entitled *Le Caeur et la Dot*, which since 1853 has held a position upon the boards of the *Comédie Française*; M. Auguste Lacausade, a distinguished poet, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and principal editor of the *Revue Europienne*; M. Victor Sejour, a native of New Orleans, a dramatic author of considerable celebrity, and an officer of the Legion of Honor; M. Melvil Bloncourt, a most agreeable, pleasing writer, whose articles appear in the *Courrier du Dimanche*, the *Siecle*, and the *Journal des Economistes*, in which he has recently published a remarkable article upon Hayti. The founder of the *Journal des Ecoles*, M. Bloncourt, while still a student, defended the cause of the enfranchised slaves against the colonial reaction. M. Bloncourt has recently written for the *Biographie Universelle*, the lives of celebrated men of color in all countries.

M. Alexander Dumas (the younger), author of the celebrated *Dame aux Camelias*, *Diane de Lys*, etc., bears evident marks of his origin and race. M. Caraby, of New Orleans, is one of the most brilliant advocates of the bar of Paris. M. White, of Cuba, the son of a negress, received the first prize as a violinist from the *Conservatoire de Musique* in 1856. M. de la Nux, also the possessor of a first prize from the *Conservratoire*, is a pianist of great skill and celebrity.

In the French army, at this time, are several men of color, among them M. Virgilé, an *élève* of the *Ecole Polytechnique*, Colonel of Artillery, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor; M. Lazare de Lance, Captain of Cuirassiers; M. Guillot Roux, Captain of Zouaves; M. Bouscaren, Lieutenant in the line; M. Beville, Lieutenant of Hussars, and M. Bores, Captain in the French Navy. The ecclesiastical profession also contains many men of color, some of them of celebrity; and among these M. Alfred Labory, Director of the *Freres de la Doctrine Chrétienne* of Ploermel, and M. Langlume, Missionary to Senegal.—BUFFUM'S *Sights and Sensations*.

## *LOCKING THE DOOR AFTER THE HORSE IS STOLEN.*

PRESIDENT GRANT'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN MISSISSIPPI—THE "NEW MOVEMENT" CONDEMNED—HIS LETTER TO JUDGE DENT.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Aug. 11, 1869.

THE following statement is given to the public, by permission of the President, Gen. Tarbell having prepared it on his arrival here, refusing to allow its publication until Gen. Grant had examined it. As now authorized, it may be relied upon as an authentic expression of the President's views.

Gen. John A. Tarbell, Secretary of the Republican Executive Committee of Mississippi, had an interview with President Grant, at the residence of Secretary Fish, on the 6th inst. His object in seeking the interview was to ascertain definitly the President's views on political affairs in the Southern States, Mississippi especially, and also to present to him the present condition of parties there. So significant were the remarks of the President, that, at the solicitation of leading Republicans in Washington, to whom he had related the conversation, Gen. Tarbell has, in response to inquiries, given the substance of Gen. Grant's views as expressed on that occasion. Gen. Tarbell, at the opening of the interview, said if an apology was deemed necessary for intruding on the President's privacy, it must be found in the nature of his business, which was to ask of the President and his Administration, some expression, by act or declaration, as to parties in Mississippi, and to ask an early decision, as there was a crisis in the condition of affairs in that State, and that definite action, showing the sympathy of the Administration, would greatly aid to a right solution. Some days since he (Gen. Tarbell) had, with the chairman of the Executive Committee and others, visited Washington in order to explain their position, believing then as now, that the President's sympathies, as well as those of the Cabinet, were with the loyal party, and in opposition to one that sought only to divide and betray it. The President took up the conversation at this point, expressing his pleasure at the visit, and entered into its purposes with spirit, showing his minute knowledge of the situation in Mississippi. With regard to the special business presented to him by Gen. Tarbell, his assurances were explicit and direct. The President said that, in his judgment, the small number of those who hitherto acted with the Republican party, now constituting the so-called "National Republican party," was in itself evidence that they could not be otherwise than used by the opposition. With regard to the recent professions made by those who were lately Rebels, the President was emphatic and frank. His only desire was peace and amity, and he would do anything that was right to bring that about, but these people cast suspicion upon their own motives by the fact that all their efforts seem to be aimed at dividing, not aiding, the Republican party. If they were really in earnest, they would not be so anxious about those with whom they acted. To sincere men, it could not be difficult to tell who in the South were and had been freinds of the Administration. He talked at some length on the recent contest in Virginia, and he thought, from Gov. Walker's speeches since his election, that that gentleman was fully committed to the Administration, and was honestly intending to act up to them. Referring to the proposal made by Col. Jenkins to unite the two wings of the Republican party there, the President expressed regret at the apparent failure to accomplish so desirable an object, remarking that the letter of Dr. Gilmer in reply showed that the followers of Walker were not all in good faith; but he still hoped, however, that good would come out of the result in Virginia. The conversation lasted for about an hour and a half, and during the whole time most of it was carried on by the President himself. The utmost frankness was displayed by him, and on Gen. Tarbell's expressing his gratitude for, and gratification at, the assurances given him, the President replied that in his conversation with the gentlemen representing the new Republican party in Mississippi, he had expressed himself much more emphatically against their course and policy than he was now doing to Gen. Tarbell. He declared positively that his sympathies were altogether with the Republicans of Mississippi, and against all efforts to divide them, coming from whatever source they might. When it was suggested that great good might be accomplished, and much wild speculation set at rest, if he would take occasion to put the views he had stated into some form and give them to the public, the President replied that he preferred that acts and results should speak for his Administration rather than words. To a question whether his attention had been called to the dispatches pretending to give his views on Mississippi affairs, he replied that it had, but that if he should correct one, others not denied would be claimed as admitted, and to correct all would consume his whole time. Nothing could be more emphatic and complimentary than the President's expression of confidence in the character and administration of Gen. Ames, commanding in Mississippi. He said, in reply to a remark made by Gen. Tarbell, that Gen. Ames would have to do much more serious things than he had heard charged, before he would order his removal.

The President in a long private letter to Judge Dent, from Long Branch, says:

"I have said, and repeat it, that if the Conservatives are to win I would prefer your election to that of any other person likely to be elected; but, as matters now look, it seems to me that the weight of my influence should be given to the other party. I earnestly hope, however, before the election concessions will be made on both sides so as to united all friends of the reconstruction movement."

The President denies having expressed any intention of suspending good, competent officers in Mississippi simply and only for their sympathy with either wing of the Republican party. He will remain neutral, unless further developments demand intervention.

Among those calling upon the President to-day was Judge Frank Merriman, a distinguished citizen of Texas. The President, in answer to the compliments of Judge Merriman, congratulated him upon the bright prospect of affairs in that State, both material and political, observing that they had two good candidates for Governor, and the people ought to be satisfied with the election of either; but that whatever choice they made, if the successful party, in good faith, obeyed the Reconstruction laws, and sent good and loyal men to Congress, they would materially advance their prospects for an early restoration to the Union, and final peace and prosperity.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1869.


## PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We have completed arrangements which enable us to offer, as an additional premium for new subscribers, a life-like, handsomely finished, medium sized photograph of JOHN G. WHITTIER. It is of the same size, and in the same finished style, as that of Mr. Phillips, and by the same artist, Mr. Augustus Marshall, 145 Tremont street, Boston. As a photographer, Mr. Marshall is equalled by few, and surpassed by none in Boston, or elsewhere. Each photograph will be accompanied by Mr. Whittier's autograph. We doubt not that many of our readers, by whom everything from Mr. Whittier's pen is fondly treasured, will be glad to avail themselves of this favorable opportunity to obtain a recent and truthful likeness of him. It is the best we have ever seen of him, and will, we have no doubt, give excellent satisfaction to his numerous friends.

To any one who will remit to us for two new subscribers, one year, ($6), or to any old subscriber, remitting also for one new subscriber ($6), we will send post paid a copy of the excellent photograph of Mr. Whittier.

To any one remitting for three new subscribers, ($9), or renewing, and remitting for two new subscribers ($9), we will send one copy of the photograph of John G. Whittier, and one of Wendell Phillips.

## *WOMAN'S RIGHTS.*

[From advance sheets of *The Woman's Advocate* for September.]

*To the Editor of the Woman's Advocate:*

IN your August number I see a letter from Mrs. Gage in which she says:

"When the war first closed and it was said by Mr. Phillips and others this is 'the Negro's hour; let us settle this question of race before that of sex,'—I, with many, felt aggrieved, thinking that the two great questions could go on together if pressed with the same persistent energy."

I never made the assertion above attributed to me; I never said, "*let us* settle this question of race before that of sex;" I never denied that these two great questions could and should go on together; I never denied that they could and should be pressed with the same persistent energy.

I know it has been said, a hundred times, that I have done all these things; but said on a level where self-respect forbade me to notice it;—said by those who were perfectly well aware that the assertion was false, but who had no objection, on that account, to continue to circulate it.

Mrs. Gage, however, is a woman of integrity and intelligence, and I have, three times at least, in her presence publicly stated my position as to the woman movement;—stated it with such elaborate distinctness that friends present begged me never again to waste time in the explanation, assuring me that all who were willing to understand me, must have done so. Such a misstatement, after all that, by a woman of Mrs. Gage's fairness and ability does indeed surprise me; maintaining, as I have done for thirty years, that woman's sharing in politics would elevate and purify them.

Unwilling that fair minded persons should be misled by Mrs. Gage's mistake, I will once more state my relation to, and views of, the Woman Movement. When, thirty-two years ago, the Abolitionists welcomed women to their platform, I was one of that class of Abolitionists which claimed that woman's right to stand there grew out of her right to share equally with man in all civil affairs. When ten years later an organized movement was started in her behalf, I gave it all the help I could. It was, practically, in the hands of the Abolitionists. They carried it on, step by step, and side by side, with their other enterprise. No one of us ever postponed one cause to the other. When, and how, and how much respectively, we should aid either, was decided by common sense, having regard to the best economy of our means at the given moment. Mrs. Gage will remember our effort in the West in 1859 and 1860, when she was herself one of the Agents we employed there. When the war came, common sense showed us all that effort in this direction would be waste of means. At its close we resumed our agitation. It was with my cordial vote that our Committee expended, in 1866 and 1867, two thousand five hundred dollars to aid the agitation in New York and in Kansas; and at my suggestion we put another thousand dollars aside to be spent in Massachusetts.

When the Fourteenth Amendment was pending I protested, both in public addresses and before our Legislative Committee, against bringing the word "*male*" into the Constitution. When, early in 1867, a leading member of Congress applied to me for such form of Constitutional Amendment as would satisfy me, I sent him one which recognized woman's right to vote, and informed him I should never rest until this right was secured to her. Up to the present hour I have never refused pecuniary assistance or my aid on the platform. I have done my share before Legislative Committees, and attended meetings as frequently as I ever did. I spoke at the Conventions held in New York city as long as the managers of the cause there deserved the confidence of its friends. I never intermitted contribution or effort, and never advised any one else to do so. I never postponed woman's claim to that of any one else, and never advised any person to do so. I never counselled the giving up, or the slackening of the agitation in behalf of woman's right to vote. What others are now doing, I am doing, so far as I get opportunity. I give, speak and print. The only instance in which I have differed with any of my comrades in the Women's Rights Movement is this: In 1866 and again in 1867, it was proposed to have the American Anti-Slavery Society adopt the Women's Rights Movement as a part of its object,—to unite the two questions. This union I opposed; and *this is the only point upon which I have ever differed with the single-hearted friends of the movement.* In all their other measures I sympathise with, and aid them.

I opposed the union of the two questions in one society mainly on this account,—because they were not equally ripe. I saw no reason for changing the policy which the friends of the two movements had followed during all the previous years. We never united them, because we saw that they were essentially distinct, and also that one of them was more advanced than the other. Although the woman question had gained marvellously from 1850 to 1865, it was still far behind the Anti-Slavery movement, even in 1865; as subsequent events have shown. The public was more ready for one than for the other. Thirty or forty years of agitation, followed by five years of war, had made the Nation fully ready to grant all the negro needed and asked. It was not ready to concede woman's rights. I said that to unite two questions of such different ripeness would be like making a wagon with wheels of different size. To unite them would be like expecting Grant, when in command of the Department of Virginia, to threaten Richmond and Vicksburg at the same time. They should be separate Divisions of the same great Army, both engaged in the same general assault; different waves of the same sea—"Distinct like the billows, one like the sea." "The two great questions can go on together," although not joined as the common objects of one Association or Society. Men and women may walk together on the same road without being married.

Union would hurt one cause, more than it could help the other. Indeed such union is impossible. The attempt, by the very parties I have mentioned, to form one, has failed.

This difference in the ripeness of the two questions was no work of ours. It came in the providence of God. It grew out of events. I did not create it or rejoice in it. I only recognized it and planned my action accordingly.

It was in this sense and in this connection that I made the claim, "this is the negro's hour"—meaning, as my argument and context showed, that this is the hour of his success; the hour whose ripeness makes it wise and economical to labor specially for him; but not an hour in which we could ever be justified in laboring *exclusively for him*, or in smothering any other just cause in order to help him to an unfair advantage. When we mow our grass in July, and dig our potatoes in September, but put off gathering Baldwin apples till October, it is economy and good sense—but no injustice to the Apples. July is the "Grass's hour;" October is the "Apple's Hour."

I never gave up working for woman, or omitted any one possible effort in her behalf on this account; or to help the negro at her expense. Indeed Mr. Powell and myself have given to the Women-Rights-question, during the last three years, nearly double the space in THE STANDARD that was ever devoted to it there before. I have never said that the Negro's cause could claim that the Woman's should be set aside, for one single instant, to give him a better chance: that any hand should be tied, or any lips gagged, on her platform, in order to secure him a speedier success. On the other hand the Woman's Movement has no right to steal any strength from the negro's success; no right to ask that his full recognition be delayed to help her, or until her rights are granted.

I only counselled to let the two movements stand separate, each on its own foundation. This is good policy on the whole. This is exact justice to each. Whoever complains of it is more of a Woman's Rights man than an Abolitionist; is a partisan and not a philanthropist; his zeal has eaten up his discretion and his sense of justice.

August 10th, 1869. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

## *WORK AHEAD.*

A SUPERFICIAL thinker, reading THE STANDARD, might ask, What have the rights of the Chinese, the suffrage of woman; the wrongs of the Indian; the right of man to religious liberty, to do with the object of an Anti-Slavery Society? What place have these in its organ? The truth is, that the Abolitionists are not responsible for the fact that the light of the torch which they carry falls on other paths than their own. It is the result of the laws of light. They could not help it, if they would. True, they *would* not; but, the rather, rejoice gratefully over every dark spot whereon such light falls.

As one persecuted race of men, born and reared on our soil, is fast coming into possession of a freeman's rights; and the victory which is about to close a long struggle, will release a trained army of reformers, who have no wish to be mustered out of Humanity's service, ready for other work, another race is pouring in upon our Western borders, and, weak and defenseless, is already becoming a prey to the savage element in the Anglo-Saxon character. The Democratic party, true to its instincts, arrays itself against them. The main principle of this party (if any principle can be traced in its conduct) seems to be that it is expedient to trample on anything weaker than itself. It is no part of its mission to lift up "the oppressed of all nations." The wrongs of the Indian, an old story, are crying more loudly than usual for redress; and the unsolved problem of his civilization is again urgently pressed on the attention of the nation. Woman demands her equal share in the birthright of humanity. Individual man is entrenching himself in his God-given rights, and saying to governments, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The Macedonian cry, from many quarters, is sounding in the ears of the Abolitionists; and through their organ, THE STANDARD, they are eagerly responding; "We hear and sympathize; our specific work is about to be finished; and we shall be at your service."

The superficial thinker, aforesaid, may demur at the statement that the help of the Abolitionists is especially needed in other enterprises on behalf of Humanity. "Is not the nation regenerated?" it is asked. Has it not abolished slavery; and is not this a pledge that henceforth it will heartily respect the demands of justice and the rights of man? Has not the Church repented of its sins against the slave, and its virulent opposition to the Anti-Slavery enterprise? To the last of these questions the Presbyterian Assembly, recently convened in New York, answers negatively, for its branch of the church, at least. The efforts of Dr. Heacock to obtain from that Assembly a testimony against the inhuman treatment of the Chinese immigrants in California, aroused the same spirit and elicited the same replies as did the pleas of Abolitionists in behalf of the slaves, a few years ago. Of this effort on the part of Dr. Heacock, *The Press* says:

"It was, according to the Church papers, condemned on the floor by the California clergymen present as needless interference on the part of men incompetent to judge. The good people of California, who were on the ground, would take the matter in hand, and even if vigilance committees were needed they would be forthcoming to right the wrong. It would do harm; the assembly would be laughed at, and so on. The result, according to one of the Presbyterian journals, was 'a quiet conference between the committee and the California brethren, and the return of Dr. Heacock's report to the platform, innocent of every allusion to that which, a few hours before, had provoked the author's noble and indignant eloquence.' His complaint

'Died unheard!
With a most voiceless thought, sheathing it as a sword!'

"Meanwhile, perhaps, the assembly has not been laughed at; perhaps the California clergymen have not hurt the sensibilities of their delicate congregations; but, as we write, the inhuman outrages go on, and the wrongs of the Chinaman, insulted, abused, struck, just as the black man was in Dixie ten years ago, cry to Heaven."

*The Press* further says, "It is difficult to understand the reticence of a professedly christian deliberative body on such a point." Thirty years ago it was difficult for the Abolitionists to understand it. It is so no longer. We have learned wherein lies the weakness of the American church. It is in its moral cowardice. It did not love slavery; it does not hate the Chinaman; but it dared not oppose the one, it dares not now defend the other, until assured of support by the popular voice. How much help may reasonably be expected from such a body, in advocacy of any new reform or unpopular enterprise?

It is scarcely necessary to ask what a political party will do, touching any such movement. It may, for a short period, be roused by moral enthusiasm, and under that impulse do a great deed for justice; but everybody knows that, usually, it will do whatever will, in its estimation, promote its numerical strength. Whenever moral reformers have awakened a sufficient amount of public sentiment, there will always be a political party sagacious enough to use it; but no sane man will expect a political party to create it. The political editors who are wondering, now, that a "christian church" hesitates to rebuke "cruel sin, against which every manly impulse rises up," forget that a few years ago, they not only hesitated to rebuke the most cruel sin of slaveholding, but instigated mobs against those who did rebuke it.

When the need of a body of prophet-reformers, such as the Abolitionists have been to this nation, shall cease in the world, the glory of the Millennium will have burst upon it. The value, to ourselves and the nation, of the training of the last thirty-five years, of those whose blessed privilege it was to be Abolitionists, cannot be estimated. Its personal results will all be called into action in the enterprises which await us in the future; and gratitude for this high privilege, that unto us it was given to hear and obey the call to this great work, demands that we should bring the strength and experience thus earned, to other service for the uplifting of the human race. To this end, let us finish our labors for the colored man's freedom, thoroughly and speedily. M. G.

ONE of the worst enemies the colored and white loyalists of the South have to contend against is the Associated Press News Association. As hitherto and at present conducted it is little better than a paid retainer of the Rebel Democracy. No editor who desires the truth in relation to Southern affairs, free from a partisan bias, feels that he can at all rely upon the news of the Associated Press as impartial and trustworhty. Its untruthfulness is now so well understood that it does less harm than formerly. It occupies a field which enables it, however, still to do much mischief in misleading and confusing the public. It is quite time that, as an injurious monopoly, it be shorn of its power. While managing editor of *The Tribune*, John Russell Young, Esq., administered to the Association telling and effective rebukes. *Wilkes Spirit* of August 14th contained a vigorous and ably written article (understood to be by Mr. Young), entitled "A Free Telegraph and a Free Press," bearing upon the Associated Press, from which we quote:

"We have spoken of the influence which the hired News-reporter, who has the resonant dignity of 'General Agent,' may exercise over the news which he is pleased to give to the great dailies. We showed how his office was once made to serve the ambition of our lamented friend Mr. Raymond, and the 'policy' of Mr. Johnson by what were called 'despatches' from the South. We cited an instance in which his office suppressed a despatch from California because it reflected upon the Western Union Telegraph Company, although the despatch was the solemn record of a great State Convention. Look at recent events! Last week a riot took place in Mobile. Like most 'riots' in the South, none but negroes were killed! Yet we had telegraphed all over the North one of the old-time 'negro-outrage' despatches, emphasized by an extract from the Mobile *Register*—a newspaper which threatens another war, and represents the worst phase of the rebellion. This despatch was as much of a falsehood as though Mr. Simonton were to telegraph to Mobile an extract from Mr. Pomeroy's *Democrat*, assailing Mr. Lincoln, as an evidence that the people of New York rejoiced in the assurance that the soul of our late President was in eternal torment. Read the watering-place mineral springs advertisements that are daily published as 'news' from Gettysburg. Any printer's devil may see they are printed for a commercial purpose, and are evidently paid for. Worse than all, read what we find in yesterday afternoon papers as news from San Francisco: 'SAN FRANCISCO, August 12th.—The movement for the nomination of an independent ticket for municipal officers in this city, to be chosen at the approaching election, *has culminated in the selection of a convention for that purpose*. The nominations of the recent Democratic Municipal Convention have created *undisguised dissatisfaction*. It is charged that *open corruption* prevailed in the convention, and that *a majority of the officers* are up for purchase. *Never, since the Vigilance Committee, has there been such interest manifested in municipal affairs*. The leading journals demand decided and immediate action. *They compare the present state of city affairs to that of 1856, and urge a general reformation.*"

"Let us translate this: The San Francisco *Bulletin*, a newspaper mainly owned by Mr. Simonton, has been bitterly opposing Mr. McCoppin, the Democratic incumbent of the office of Mayor of that city and a candidate for reelection. Its assaults have been bitter, persistent, coarse. It has assailed his faith and his country. The publisher has been arrested for libel. The Democratic Convention nominates McCoppin upon a platform which demands free and cheap telegraphing, and an employé of the *Bulletin*, Mr. Simonton's San Francisco agent, telegraphs this damaging libel all over the country. We make this translation simply from a knowledge of California politics, and of the motives which prompt the attack. These illustrations are but scattering evidences of the abuses which surround the administration of the Associated Press, and of the power of this agency to give tone and color to what its News-reporter is pleased to call the 'News Despatch' of his corporation."

THE Sham-Democracy of Ohio have substituted their "favorite son" Pendleton for gubernatorial candidate, in place of Rosecrans declined. They therefore preserve a consistency with their villainous record in the past. Democratic orators find it necessary now-a-days to study carefully the politico-geographical peculiarities of the localities to which they may be assigned for service. "Nasby," invited by the National Democratic Committee to take the "stump," returned recently to "Pepper's Tavern," after a brief absence in a sorry plight. In Tennessee he offended his Democratic brethren by opposing negro suffrage; in Indiana he offended them again by advocating negro suffrage; in Pennsylvania and Ohio he was equally unfortunate on the questions of finance and the war. He writes an account of his perilous experiences, with his "face kivered with plasters," and his "left arm in a sling," and concludes as follows:

The follerin letter wuz this mornin forwardid to the Chairman uv the Nashnel Democratic Central Committee in Noo York:

"SIR: I am willin to lift my voice in behalf uv the Democracy, but I can't do it too miscellaneously. I can't spread myself ore too much teritory, ez things politikle are at this time. Travelin expenses and unlimited whisky is good, but life is better. I can't afford to give my stummick a good time at the expense uv the rest uv my anatomicle structer. I hev bin egged in Ohio, stoned in Pennsylvany, stomped on in Tennessee, and clubbed in Injeany for advocatin Democrisy ez I understand it. Now, sir, I am willin to proceed in the mishunary biznis but only on these condishuns:

1. I am to go only in one State.
2. Yoo must give me before I start a legibly printed copy uv the Democratic platform uv the pertikeler State into wich I am to speek.
3. Yoo must furnish me, before spekin, with an authentic biogary uv each uv the Democratic candidates uv the State into wich I am to speek, statin fully their race, color, finanshel condishun, views on all the questions before the people, parentage and antecedents.

I consider this necessary in the present highly mixed condishun uv the Democracy, to prevent our orators from fallin into sich errors ez them wich neerly laid me a cold corpse into the silent toom.

Onless these condishuns are fulfilled I shel speek no more. Respectfully, PETROLEUM V. NASBY,
Wich wuz Postmaster.

WE scarcely need invite the attention of our readers to the very interesting proceedings of the recent meeting of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. As will be seen the meeting was one of unusual interest. The woman's suffrage movement is more fortunate in England than, as yet, in this country, in having a strong, efficient, and influential national organization. Both there and here it is, however, moving forward with gratifying, rapid progress. We understand that a Convention, for the formation of a National organization which shall be truly representative of the friends of Woman Suffrage in this country, is under consideration by a committee of the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. We are glad to learn that it is probable that such a Convention will be called at no very distant period.

We invite attention also to the liberal and enlightened recommendations of the Vermont "Council of Censors" which recently reported in favor of so amending the Vermont State Constitution as to allow women to vote.

*The Tribune* says:

"The first examinations of women under the new regulation admitting them to Cambridge University have resulted in a triumph for the sex which we record with unfeigned delight. Thirty-six candidates presented themselves and twenty-five were accepted, and several of these received special marks of distinction in various branches, such as arithmetic, religious knowledge, and languages. The Cambridge where this happened was the one in England—not, we are sorry to say, the Cambridge in Massachusetts, where nevertheless we warrant more than twenty-five girls out of thirty-six would be found qualified for admission."

STRENUOUS efforts are being put forth to have the reconstruction laws of Congress set aside by the President and Gen. Canby in Virginia, so as to enable Rebel-Democrats chosen in defiance thereof, to take seats in the Virginia Legislature, and send two of their own kind to the United States Senate for six years. We earnestly hope these efforts may not be successful. What the ultimate result would be is already foreshadowed in the present alarming condition of affairs in many parts of the State.

THE National Labor Congress, in session at Philadelphia as we write, we are glad to see admitted colored delegates without opposition, and selected one of the number Mr. P. P. Brown as Sergeant-at-Arms. Several Labor Associations composed of colored men are represented. This is a great improvement upon the timid and cowardly action of the Typographical Union recently at Albany.

OUR friend, Miss CAROLINE F. PUTNAM, in a note just received, dated Lottsburg, Va., August 10th, says: "There was a dreadful riot yesterday at the Court House, Heathsville, Va. One innocent colored man, Loudon Jackson, was killed, others wounded."

WE print with much pleasure in another column a letter from Portland, (Oregon) by MRS. SAXTON, (wife of Gen. Rufus Saxton) to which we invite the attention of our readers

## *RURALIZING EXTRA.*

LETTER FROM REV. JOHN T. SARGENT.

WORCESTER (TATNOOK) Mass., Aug. 16th, 1869.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

WELL! Here we are, under the FOSTER-*ing* care of our friends STEPHEN S. and ABBY KELLEY; and what better hospitality can be hoped for by any reasonable beings? By invitation of these dear friends my wife and self left Boston and are now spending a week or ten days under their pleasant roof, and what a social privilege that is surely our readers of THE STANDARD need not be told.

Only think, now, what a recreation it is, in times like these, so to ruralize, and have daily converse with such a man and such a woman amid their ripening and gathered sheaves, and in the quiet of their harvest home to interchange the fullness of our sympathies with them on all the great social interests of the day to which they have so largely given the energies of their lives; to listen to their portrayal and analysis of these interests, to recapitulate, with them, the experience, the logic, and the lessons of nearly half a century past on the Anti-Slavery crisis, and retraverse with them, that memorable battle-field, whereon now, in death, so many foemen are prostrate, and where others, even now, are writhing, wrestling, and rising in hopes to fight longer! I remember, years ago, (I think it was almost my first attendance at Anti-Slavery meetings) how impressed I was, coming from Cambridge to Boston to attend one of these Conventions, on listening to Abby Kelley and Stephen S. Foster among other speakers. There, thought I, is a man and a woman who seem to be thoroughly in earnest, at any rate, and who mean what they say. I think I can trace to *their* quickening influence as much as to that of any other speakers on the Anti-Slavery platform, whatever of earnestness and strength of reform sympathies have since become fixed in me. There was a peculiar magnetism about Stephen which I am quite sure many others felt as well as I. How earnest he always was and with what a closeness in his logic! What work he used to make in the demolition of all pro-slavery sophistries! How he shook those skunks of Southern oppression! How he made the feathers fly from all vultures south of "Mason and Dixons" when he got hold of them! How intense he was when he got well *in* to his subject! Who will ever forget the swaying to and fro of his coat-flaps when he was, as we say, "warmed up?" How like the waving of a lion's tail it was! and when the grip of his justice was well *in* to the back of his victim, how like the roar of that "lord of the forest" were the deep tones of his rebuke! He never "minced matters!" He went right in to the affair in hand, whatever it was,—with sleeves rolled up, as it were, just as he hoes corn, prunes a vine, or digs potatoes on his farm, going to the *root* of matters at once. The whole bristling phalanx of Southern pretensions claims and tyrannies fell down before him like the weak stubble and meadow hay under his scythe. He made as clean work of the flimsy pretexts of Northern and Southern conservatism as he does of the weeds in his garden, or the chaff and refuse of his granary! and what *he* did *not* do or finish in those particulars, you may be quite sure his *wife did* and *does*, and a blessed man is he to have such an "help meet!" How well, and with her, has he worked in all those great moral interests to which we have referred!

And, now, here he is, mid the encomiums of singing birds, the shades and fruits of his own orchard, the quiet of a charming home in a lovely vale, encircled by an amphitheatre of pleasant hillsides—living, peacefully retired, like "CINCINNATUS," the old Roman patriot, resting on his plough, or rather his plough on *him*, for the man *works* too hard here, and needs a broader field of a different sort, after having so well served his country; a field, I would say, whereon he could help to their

culmination those great principles of "equal rights" for which we have sacrificed so much and are still contending for. I would to Heaven, we could, even now, say or see for our friend Foster's encouragement and comfort, that those great fields of Southern interests and social reformation into which he so drove the plough of his patriotic intent and philanthropic effort were now as fruitful of all the great and good results aimed at, and as thoroughly redolent of the flowers of peace, or as full of the harvest we sought of equal rights at the cost of blood, and the entire freedom and equality of the oppressed for which we *had* so to fight as are his own barns of hay for his cattle, and his own conscience of the loftiest motives! For that good stock and social harvest of humane results yet unattained, or in part consummated, you may be assured he will still labor and be faithful whenever he hears the trumpet call! Aye! and *before* that, as is evident, every day, by his strenuous, active interest in the cause and claims of the FREEDMEN, the TEMPERANCE question, WOMAN'S RIGHTS, the LABOR REFORM, and all else which aims in any way at the elevation and prosperity of the whole Human Race!—

That the Lord of all good harvests may abundantly bless both his wife and himself in all the work of their heart and hands, whether in the broader field of philanthropy or their farm at "TATNOOK" is the aspiration and prayer of their friend, J. T. S.

## *PERSONAL.*

JOHN BRIGHT has withdrawn from all participation in the *London Morning Star*, such being incompatible with his ministerial duties.

A correspondent of the *London Spectator*, describing the great bronze foundry of Munich, pronounces Crawford's "Beethoven," now in the Boston Music Hall, "the grandest statue of Germany's greatest man."

As Rev. Robert Collyer was recently walking through a White Mountain village he entered a blacksmith's shop and asked the privilege of making a nail. He handled the iron and hammer so skilfully that the master of the place, thinking him still one of the craft, asked "where he was at work?" Mr. Collyer replied "that he was not working steadily anywhere just now."

Kate Field has been in the Adirondack Wilderness with Rev. Mr. Murray, and she comes to his defence in a *Tribune* letter. She closes by saying: "Murray is right in the main, but it is rash to become responsible for either weather or Wilderness. Every one must buy his own experience. He who ventures nothing will be very sure to gain nothing, and I would venture much to gain robust health and a knowledge of the North Woods."

Rev. Thomas K. Beecher who for several years has had his own say and own way in a couple of columns of the Elmira *Advertiser*, writes thus: "To pastors all and singular, living in cities not larger than our own loved Elmira, we say: Go to your city's newspaper, cotton in with the editor and proprietor, fish an invitation to edit a column in his paper, put into the preparation of that one column more labor than you do into a sermon. For by that one column you sensibly reach and mold and educate more minds than by all your pulpit work. And, not least, most of you my brethren if you will consent to write for a newspaper and take the knocks and rough and tumble of it, will find it advantageous to your style of thought and writing. You will get rid of long words and long sentences, involutions and cant. He who learns to write a readable newspaper article will find a sermon very easy writing indeed. The greater prepares for the less."

A California correspondent of *The Agitator* writing of Anna Dickinson, her lectures in San Francisco, her visit to the Yo Semite, etc., says:

"She spoke to full houses—to select, critical audiences, and I believe never with more effect—presenting Woman Suffrage from the highest ground—that of its inherent justice, and, its necessity to the preservation of a government founded upon such principles as ours. Coming out from her first lecture, in which she said brave, strong words for the Chinese, I heard, 'Won't the Johnnies like that, though?' 'You bet!' echoed by many voices in the crowd—even the clergymen say 'you bet,' in California—and sure enough, the next day a delegation of the Chinese merchants waited upon her, and expressed their appreciation of her earnest and elegant plea for them. To-day Anna Dickinson is worshipping in the grandest of temples—the Yo Semite. Those who have ears to hear may hear in the roar of the waterfalls, under that great rock so well named the 'Cap of Liberty,' the grand tones of the harmonies to be sung when there is no more sin, and no more slavery."

## Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 15th, 1869.

ONE very great advantage of the movement in behalf of women's suffrage is that we now have in literature an utterance of solid and valuable truth in regard to the actual state, the actual deficiencies, and the actual necessities of women in civilization, something besides the namby-pamby, sentimental-pious style of exhortation to them—the logical sequence of the rib-theory in theology. True, enough and too much of this remains; read and and cherished by those who are still ignorant enough to accept Todd and Fulton as teachers: but this was formerly *the whole* of the literature designed for and addressed to women. Now we have admirable statements describing the virtues that are at once manly and womanly, like the article by Frances Power Cobbe in *Putnam's Magazine* for August; and wise suggestions as to the best method of advancing the women's cause, such as the London letters of Mr. Smalley in recent numbers of the *Tribune*, and an article by Justin McCarthy in last week's *Independent*.

Miss Cobbe's article, "The Defects of Women, and how to remedy them," is one of very remarkable excellence. It is written, she says, "from an English point of view," but this view is so full of wisdom and practical good sense that it is much to be desired that all our women should read and ponder it.

This article begins by pointing out that, while some of the peculiar gifts of women are fostered and developed in the course of education allotted to them, the equally ordinary defects peculiar to them are usually left untouched by this education, and remain at the end of it very much as they were at the beginning. Nor is this a matter of mere negligence; for it seems to be assumed either that these defects are hopeless of remedy, or, yet worse, that they are attributes of the feminine character, rather satisfactory and desirable than otherwise; properly belonging to women as women, and endeared to both sexes by association with the ideas of what men most love in women.

This brings Miss Cobbe to touch upon an impression very widely existing, and fortified by Coleridge's presumptuous declaration that "Every man would desire rather to have an Ophelia for a wife than a Portia." This impression is, that—The end and aim of a woman's life is to be beloved by a man. But men love the weakness of a woman rather more than her strength. Therefore it is vain to seek to banish feminine weaknesses, for by so doing, we are depriving the spider of its thread.

Miss Cobbe seems to doubt, as well she may, the soundness of Coleridge's proposition; but in regard to the proportional number of men of whom it is true, be they more or fewer, she makes these two answers: first, that the man who prefers Portia is a million times more worthy of love, and more qualified to make a wife happy, than he who prefers Ophelia; and next, that no outward gain whatever (among which happy marriages may be reckoned highest) is equal in value to the inward gain of a healthy and vigorous frame, a highly-trained intellect, a calm reason, a wealthy memory, well-ordered passions, and a heart lifted to the love of all things good and holy.

Half the weaknesses of women, Miss Cobbe thinks, are the results of that imperfect physical health and vigor, that "delicate health," to which their habits commonly consign them from childhood, and which, also, they inherit from valetudinarian mothers. This state o things, she says, cannot be remedied in one generation; yet, as many who suffer from it know not even how to begin remedial measures, Miss Cobbe gives some hints in regard to them, the result of the experience of probably the healthiest of all the conditions of young womanhood—that of an English country gentleman's daughter.

First, for sleep. Women don't go to bed early enough. They lose vigor, freshness and eyesight by reading, working or dancing till midnight.

Secondly, for food. Most women eat too little in quantity and too indiscriminately in regard to the quality of their food. It is a pernicious error to be ashamed of a healthful appetite, and a blunder to continue to eat that which produces dyspepsia.

Then, for exercise. To get the healthy mind we must have the healthy body. Why should those faulty conditions which in man are correctly attributed to unequal development of mind and body be assumed, when they occur in women, to be weaknesses inherent in the feminine nature? Light might be thrown on this subject if we could obtain statistics of the proportions between dyspepsia, headaches, tight lacing and narrow chests, on the one hand, and on the other, the belief in certain follies, and the general instability of character and temper which have made women for ages the butt of masculine cynicism. The admission of woman into the medical profession, one of the greatest improvements of the age, will in the course of a generation or two do much to strengthen women's minds, by first teaching them to strengthen their bodies. Miss Cobbe lays stress on the point that daily exercise, to be truly serviceable, must be joyous exercise spontaneously taken, not as a medicine, but with the eagerness of natural appetite.

Exercise naturally suggests dress, which in the case of women is the great stumbling-block in the way of active exertion. Our author points out the folly and the ill-taste of women wearing clothes by which their natural and needful motions are impeded, their purposes being thwarted by their own habiliments; of wearing bonnets which give no shade to the eyes; of pinching the feet into thin, narrow, tight boots; and of compressing the muscles and the lungs by tight stays. But she admits that "To advise a young lady to dress herself with any serious eccentricity from the prevailing fashion of her day and class, is to advise her to incur a penalty which may very probably be the wreck of her whole life's happiness." How, then, are these needed reforms to be begun? It is a sad deficiency in this excellent article that no suggestion is made upon this point. It seems to me that the principle of cooperation should here be brought into play. If a hundred respectable women in any town or city would, by pre-arrangement, make such modification as they deem plainly advantageous in their own attire, and simultaneously begin the use of the improved articles or methods, agreeing to continue the experiment for a year, within that period the change would be so followed by others that the new method would be considered permissible, and would have imitators in other places. And if such an association would make the further agreement not to adopt new evil fashions in dress, and not to disuse any really good style or article of attire merely because its fashion was passing away, an immense advantage would be gained, not to the health and convenience only, but to the moral culture of women. At present, the great majority of them are far more afraid of what is unfashionable than of what is wrong.

Assuming that the failings of both sexes are of course aggravated by the common system of educating them entirely apart, and that association of the sexes in education as in after life is one of the reforms needed, Miss Cobbe makes excellent suggestions in regard to remedying the characteristic defects of girls, even under the present system. She recommends thoroughness of mental culture, and a training in solid studies. She shows that, even in the matter of agreeableness in society, the one gift which is worth all others together is the power of conversation, the manifestation of good sense, good nature, and a well cultivated mind.

Coming finally to the question "How are the moral weaknesses of girls to be cured?" Miss Cobbe suggests that the first step in this process is to recognize the defects in question as defects, and not as feminine charms; and she proceeds to point out, in regard to the unequal operation of law upon the two sexes, that there is nothing in the speciality of a woman's nature to make the moral poison of bondage wholesome to her, while it is deadly to her stronger-nerved and heavier-brained companion.

NORTH.

## *FROM OREGON.*

LETTER FROM MRS. M. G. SAXTON.

PORTLAND, Oregon, July 25th, 1869.

* * * * THE intelligence that the Congressional party (the House Committee of Ways and Means; also the Surveyors of the route for the Northern Pacific Railroad) were at our hotel, seemed to bring Washington and the Capitol, politics and an Eastern breeze right to our doors, while some familiar faces which we greeted cordially made us realize that the Pacific railroad was speedily doing away with the shut out sensation one might naturally experience a hundred miles up the Columbia river. They visited Oregon City the first day, and on the second we started with them on an excursion up the Columbia by invitation of the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. This enterprising pioneer company, of which Capt. J. C. Ainsworth is President and Mr. S. Reed Vice-President, has made the communication on this river from its mouth to the head of navigation (a distance of—— hundred miles, as easy and convenient as it is on the Hudson. They have built two excellent railroads around the rocky portions of the river with telegraphic communications the entire length of the river. This country is greatly indebted for its development to the liberal and intelligent management of this great line of communication, and I am informed that the company too has reaped that golden harvest which is due to its enlightened policy.

Messrs. Hooper, Kelly, Maynard, Blair and Brooks, composed the committee, accompanied by Mr. Julian, Chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, with several others, and while sailing down the beautiful Williamette in the early morning, we were soon willingly exchanging Oregon items for Washington news, and hearing of mutual friends East. We reached the mouth of the Williamette in the broad day-light, and if the atmosphere had been a little clearer the party could have had a view we enjoyed some weeks ago. The boat had just left the Williamette and was entering the mighty Columbia with the fir-covered hills of the Cascade range on each side of it, and massive rocks hundreds of feet high rising from its surface,—while far in the distance Mt. Hood, St. Helens and Rainier stood out clear and distinct, piercing the clouds with their snow-capped peaks. This is the point all Oregonians say from which Bierstadt should have painted his "Mt. Hood," as the dark hills of the Cascade range and the river would have made a finer foreground than the level plain, and shown more clearly the relative height of the mountain from the surrounding peaks and from the surface of the river.

For a distance of sixty miles we steamed up the Columbia through the wildest and grandest river scenery I think in the world, each and all of us as we sat on deck straining our eyes to take in every near or distant peak, every fantastic rock and palisade, every mountain stream and waterfall that came tumbling and leaping down the sides of rocks two and three hundred feet high.

At the "cascades," a point on the river resembling the rapids at Niagra over which of course the boat could not pass, we took the cars, the strangers looking and expressing much amazement at the sight of the locomotive and passenger car in the wilds of Oregon. The cars run twice a day to carry passengers and freight around these cascades to meet the boat above them. The general character of the scenery is the same as below the cascades, but on our approach to the "Dalles" we had an unusually fine view of Mt. Hood, the peak and base clear; the middle slopes cloud-girt and the crevasses visible through our glasses. The exact definition of the word Dalles I cannot ascertain, but here it is applied to a point where the river flows through a chasm or channel so narrow that you can throw a stone across, and the mighty volume of water rushes and foams between the rocks. Fremont and others since have attempted to sound it here, but no bottom has been found. At least this is the Oregonian's story; but with a longer line and heavier lead there would probably be little difficulty in ascertaining its depth. There is a town here also bearing the name of "The Dalles." Here we again took the cars to pass us over numerous large waterfalls made by jagged rocks lying in the river, and in an hour reached Celilo, the depot for the supplies of the company, and the starting point for the boats still further up the river. After inspecting the large work-shops and iron foundry, and visiting the telegraph office, where several of the party received dispatches from their homes and from San Francisco, we started to return to Portland. But a few miles below Celilo, Mr. Reed had the cars stop at the falls where two small tribes of Indians were encamped, fishing and drying salmon to carry back to their reservations. Everyone left the cars the robust and the invalid, the stout and slim, stumbling over the rocks to reach the falls. It was five o'clock in the afternoon, a warm July sun was shining full upon us, and the spray from the falls splashed in our faces. But the Congressional Committee had come for salmon fishing and meant to have it. The Indians unhesitatingly gave up their spears, hooks and nets to the gentlemen, and presently we had a scene on the rocks which I wish could have been photographed. Mr. Hooper stood beside a blanket-clad Indian, his robust figure leaning over the falls, watching for some misguided salmon to commence its ascent, his attention diverted between spearing his fish and keeping his footing on the rocks. His efforts were rewarded by taking one large salmon, at least three feet long, which in its efforts to wriggle off the cruel hook, almost took the great financier off his own hooks over the falls. Horace Maynard stood above the rapids waiting for the fish as they made a successful ascent, and with his long arms and a long poled net, fished up thirty salmon, none less than two feet long. With his swarthy complexion, his long straight, black hair, and all absence of excitement in his manner, he looked a near relative to the dark-hued, stolid Indian beside him. Mr. Julian caught eleven. The other gentlemen I was not watching, but understood the party caught over seventy. This is the season when the salmon go up the river to deposit their eggs near its source, and in these narrow channels formed by rocks lying across the river, the water is all alive with them. The squaws, entirely destitute of underclothing, with blankets tied round them, were cleaning the fish and stretching them on rocks to dry. The Chief came into the cars to bid us good bye, dressed in the unpicturesque costume of our race, speaking a little English and saying his name was Walla. He scarcely realized my ideal Hiawatha, but had an intelligent, animated face, and laid a hand in ours which with its long slender fingers and finely shaped nails, an aristocrat might covet. But the majority, both men and women, were dirty, dull and heavy looking, though not near so repulsive to me as the degraded of our own race, on whose white faces ignorance and vice make their impress so plainly.

The committee thought they would rather enjoy a practical knowledge of the resources of our country, so Walla tied several large salmon to the tender of our locomotive, and on our return to the boat we had one for supper, and the others for breakfast and dinner the next day. The return trip was as thoroughly enjoyed as the day previous; the river, mountains and rocks varying with every atmospheric change, and always "a joy forever."

It was exceedingly pleasant in this far-off land towards the setting sun, to meet such congenial spirits, and especially Mrs. Julian, the daughter of Joshua R. Giddings, and to talk with her of the old struggles and great triumphs of the cause in which her father with many others battled so bravely. And you may imagine even so small a company of reformers could not meet without discussing such earnest, pressing topics as the Chinese problem and the Indian question. The Chinese are anxious to learn English, and to teach them, is, it seems, the first step. The Presbyterian minister here, who is a thorough reformer, gave me his first experience in Christianizing his cook. He gave him the Chinese translation of the New Testament. The man turned to the back of it to read it as is their custom, and after examining it a few moments, handed it back saying "Melican man's church book,—very pretty—Chinamen like better Chinese church book." Of course the dilemma cannot be taken by the horns in that way, nor their idol "Joss" be dethroned by such an awkward blow. Dr. Wyethe, the Methodist minister, has commenced a class in his Sunday School where he will probably teach them the English alphabet before he does the First Commandment. At Boise a few days ago, there was a hot battle between a Jew and a Chinaman. The Jew indulged in every sort of epithet towards the Chinaman who stood speechless before such a tirade because his knowledge of English was too imperfect to allow him to respond quickly. But when the Jew finished the Chinaman said slowly, "Chinaman not like you—Melican man not like you. You killed Melican man's Joss." There is little prejudice among them in Oregon and they are generally preferred for servants, as they are so cleanly in their persons and surroundings, and generally indefatigable workers. I must confess that I am glad I am not necessitated to send my table linen to their laundries, as they sprinkle the clothing by filling their mouths with water and ejecting it over the linen in a very skillful manner.

The colored people are here in quite large numbers considering there is a statute in the Constitution of Oregon forbidding their presence except for six months. It is considered a dead letter, but it is to be hoped that anything so mean and barbarous will soon be wiped out. We thought when we left the South that our immediate connection with that race was ended for the present, but the day of our arrival in our new home we found directly opposite a public school for colored children, with seventy-five scholars, and a few days afterwards were solicited to aid in organizing a Sunday School for these children, and to be present at the dedication of their first church here. So instead of coming to Oregon to rest, we find that a reformer's hands need never be idle.

M. G. SAXTON.

## *WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN ENGLAND.*

MEETING OF THE LONDON NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE—SPEECHES OF MR. J. S. MILL, PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M. P., LORD HOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, M. P., AND OTHERS.

ON the afternoon of Saturday, July 17, the London National Society for Women's Suffrage met in Conduit street, Bond-street. There was a very numerous attendance of ladies and gentlemen. Among those present were Mrs. P. A. Taylor (who presided), Mrs. Fawcett (wife of the honorable member for Brighton), Mr. J. S. Mill, Lord Houghton, Right Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, M. P.; Sir C. W. Dilke, M. P.; Mr. M'Laren, M. P.; Mr. P. A. Taylor, M. P.; Prof. Fawcett, M. P.; Rev. Charles and Mrs. Kingsley, Mr. John Morley, Prof. Masson, Mr. Boyd Kinnear, Mr. Thomas Hare, Sir W. Lawson, M. P.; Mr. Price, M. P.; Sir D. Wedderburn, M. P.; Mr. Winterbotham, M. P.; Mr. Jas. Heywood, Hon. Auberon Herbert, M. Arles-Dufour, M. Louis Blanc, Herr Karl Blind, Mrs. S. Lucas, Miss Helen Taylor, Mrs. M. D. Conway, Mr. Sheldon Amos, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. G. J. Holyoake, Mr. Frank Hill and Mr. C. H. Hopwood.

Upon the motion of John Stuart Mill, Esq., the chair was taken by Mrs. Peter Taylor. Letters apologizing for their unavoidable absence and expressing approbation of the objects of the Association, were read from the Solicitor-General, (Sir J. D. Coleridge), Mr. F. G. C. Leslie, and Prof. Newman.

THE REPORTS.

The Secretary (Miss Caroline Biggs) then read a brief report, from which it appeared that during the present year 220 petitions had been presented to Parliament on this subject, containing 41,000 signatures, and that 18,500 pamphlets had been distributed, written by Mr. Mill, Miss Cobbe, Mme. Bodichon, Prof. Newman and others. Mr. Thomas Hare moved, and Mr. Boyd Kinnear seconded, the adoption of the report.

SPEECH OF MR. MILL.

Mr. John Stuart Mill, who was received with loud and continued applause, congratulated the Society upon the success of this their first effort in political organization. The admission of women to the franchise, which not long since was a mere protest on behalf of abstract right, had now grown into a definite political aim, seriously pursued by many thousands of active adherents. He had always held the opinion that women had the same right to the suffrage as men, and it had been his good-fortune to know many ladies very much better fitted to exercise it than the majority of the men of his acquaintance. Nevertheless, he confessed that he was not prepared for the large amount of sympathy and support which this movement had received. That success would be unaccountable were it not for some important allies that had been at work in their behalf. The first of these was the sense of natural justice. They were fighting against disabilities and disqualifications, and claiming equal chances and opportunities for both halves of mankind. Another auxiliary at work for them was the progress of the age. All the tendencies that characterized modern improvement were on their side; the growing ascendency of moral over physical force, of social influences over brute strength, of the idea of right over the law of might; the philanthropic spirit, that which seeks to raise the weak and the oppressed; the democratic spirit, the disposition to extend political rights, and to deem any class insufficiently protected unless it had a voice in choosing those by whom the laws are made; the free-trade spirit; the force of the new conception of human improvement and happiness, the habit of estimating human beings by their intrinsic worth, by what they are and what they do, and not by what they are born to—all these were powerful aids in the works they were undertaking. Every improvement that characterized the present age would be found tending in the same direction. Not one of them would be thoroughly realized and perfected unless women with all their moral and intellectual capabilities properly developed, were associated in the work; and the pedantic nonsense talked about the proper sphere of woman would appear thoroughly ridiculous when pleaded as an excuse for excluding them from the minor matter of politics when their assistance could be dispensed with in the most arduous. Look, for instance, at education, the one great cry of the day. Were they going to educate a nation without the aid of women? Women were the acknowledged best teachers of young children, and numbers of them were eager, both professionally and as volunteers, to put their hand to the work, the only hindrance to their being equally capable instructors to more advanced pupils was that they could not teach what they had not been allowed to learn. In the Northern States of America a large majority of the teachers were women. Was it likely, then, that when women found themselves side by side with the men of the present, teaching and training the men of the future, they would believe in the right of their pupils to political supremacy over them? Would they feel themselves less worthy of a vote than the men who had been taught by them how to use their vote? He would like to see the face of the man so taught who would stand up and refuse it to them. Turning to the management of the poor, he ventured to predict that the great national question would never be successfully treated till women took their proper, and, perhaps, the principal share in its management, both in the workhouses and hospitals for the poor. Those who best knew how to manage a household would be the best calculated to manage a workhouse; and so with regard to all that concerned the details of public expenditure, what superintendence would be equal to that of an experienced mother of a family? If we meant to meet the demand of the age for a Government at once cheap and efficient, the most vigilant and capable agents for making the money go as far as possible would generally be found among women. The nursing of the sick was a privilege which had seldom been denied to women. The nursing of the sick in most public establishments was necessarily mainly carried on by women, and it was now understood that they ought to be educated women. No ignorant person could be a good nurse. The prevention and cure of disease was likely to become a branch of public administration. At present the medical staff of the Unions was wretchedly underpaid, and nothing like so numerous as it ought to be; and how was it to be made efficient if the door were persistently shut upon those women, who claimed medical education to fit them for such duties? Until the medical profession was opened to women there would never be a sufficient supply of educated medical practitioners for any but the rich. Society was feeling every day more and more that the services of women were wanted for other uses than to "suckle fools and chronicle small beer." Many were now saying that women should be better educated, in order that they might be able to educate men; and, truly, if they were to educate men, the education of a well educated man could hardly be denied to them. But these very moderate reformers fell into the mistake about women that was made about the working classes—people were willing to educate them, but expected them, after being educated, to content themselves with the same treatment which they had met with before. That could not be. Those who were fit to train men for their work would think themselves fit to share in that work. The higher education of women, and their political emancipation, were sure to go forward together. They might safely affirm, then, that their cause was powerfully backed, since it had for its allies the great forces which were everywhere at work striving to improve the world. Their success would greatly strengthen all those forces, and they, by their increasing strength, would help on that success; whoever helped forward one beneficent object would prove in the end to have promoted many more. Their business was to go on as a society, doing that which they had hitherto done, striving for the suffrage and for the suffrage only, gain that, and whatever was desirable for women would ultimately follow; but until that was gained, nothing was obtained that might not be resumed at the caprice of our rulers. The great practical distinction between those who could protect themselves and those who were at the mercy of others was the political franchise. Even in America it was found that to abolish slavery was not enough; the negroes could not be really free until they had the franchise. Representative assemblies, in the election of which they had no voice, inflicted or permitted treatment which would have reduced them to a condition almost worse than their previous state. The extension of the suffrage, so long as women were excluded from it, was a positive injury to them. The suffrage was the turning point in women's cause—that alone would insure them an equal hearing and fair play. With it they could not be denied any just right, or excluded from any fair advantage. All, therefore, should aid this enterprise as the best means of accelerating the particular improvement in which they felt a special interest. He concluded by moving "That this Society declares its strong conviction that it is in the highest degree unjust and impolitic to make sex the ground of exclusion from the exercise of political rights."

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR FAWCETT.

Prof. Fawcett, M. P., supported the resolution. He was disposed to think that the view taken by Mrs. Taylor as to the time when their victory would be achieved was of too gloomy a character. The principles laid down in the resolution were so self-evidently true, and the movement in its favor so conclusive, that he ventured to think they should not have to wait at any rate a longer time than the shortest space that had been alluded to before that victory was won. Nothing was more extraordinary than the growth of public opinion upon certain questions, and that which at one time seemed hopeless soon became a reality. This was particularly the case with regard to education. He could remember the time when it was almost considered an extravagance to advocate compulsory education. Now the idea was received with popular favor, and he believed it would be so with regard to women's franchise. For years this subject was looked upon only as a dream of philosophers, and they must remember that there were some persons who thought it was far more contemptuous to call a man a philosopher than to denounce him as an ignoramus. When this subject was first introduced into Parliament by Mr. Mill it was treated with derision; but it was no exaggeration to say that in one night it passed forever out of the region of ridicule, and no man in the House of Commons would now think of so treating it. When Mr. Jacob Bright, in a most able and temperate speech, proposed to admit women to vote at municipal elections, not a single word of ridicule was heard, and the whole thing was settled in a quarter of an hour. He therefore thought that in five years at least they might be able to congratulate themselves upon seeing the injustice of placing women under political disability destroyed forever. They could not but feel the loss in Parliament of one who was their natural leader on this question, but in his absence from the House it was absolutely impossible for the matter to be in better hands than those of Mr. Jacob Bright. He (Mr. Fawcett) for one should not be satisfied until women were placed in what he considered to be their proper position, when they should enjoy equal rights, and have the same use of the educational endowments of the country as men had, and the same opportunity of turning the faculties with which they were endowed to the best possible advantage. The resolution was then put and carried.

REMARKS OF LORD HOUGHTON.

Lord Houghton, in seconding the resolution, referred to a passage in Mr. Mill's work, to the effect that laws would never be improved unless there were numerous persons whose moral sentiments were better than the existing laws; and it might be safely assumed that there were numerous persons both here and elsewhere who thought the law with regard to the women of this country extremely impolitic and unjust. His own education upon this subject had been much guided by his experience in an early portion of his life in Eastern countries, and also by a portion of his study. Notwithstanding the disadvantage which attended female life in the East there were many instances where women had shown a remarkable capacity for government, and had become eminent in the State. There was one portion of political equality which had struck him in history as conceded to women, and that was the political equality of the scaffold. During the French Revolution he was not aware of any instance in which women had claimed exemption on account of their sex. They went to the scaffold with the same sense of responsibility as others. It was conceded that a large amount of power existed on the part of women, unaccompanied by a sense of political responsibility. He was inclined to wish that power should always be connected with responsibility—a woman should feel herself a citizen as much as a man. There was no reason why her affections and passions should be more likely to guide her wrong than those of men, and he believed if women were educated in this feeling, the political influence they would exercise would be more beneficial than the power they exercised now. With regard to the effect which it would have upon their homes, their daily lives, and all those matters, a great amount of rubbish has been talked. As to the various professions in life, women should have a fair chance, and that was all that was asked for them. There were difficulties enough in their way, as was seen by the impediment which they met with even in procuring employment in the trade of watch-making, in which Swiss women were so skilful, and in their procuring employment as compositors in printing offices, notwithstanding the efforts of Miss Faithful; but though they might have to struggle hard, no doubt their energy would enable them to overcome these difficulties, and what would aid them most would be the sense that they did not labor under any social or political degradation.

REMARKS OF MR. JOHN MORLEY.

Mr. John Morley supported the resolution. Their present object was rather conference than conversion, although he acknowledged himself a convert by the dissertations and discussions of Mr. Mill at the time of his being an undergraduate at Oxford. Experience had strengthened his views on this subject. The bill which they might introduce into Parliament should be simply permissive in its character. There were a body of men for whom, personally, he had the highest respect, who could not understand how those who were working for a social regeneration should think of inviting women to take any part in public action. He alluded to the Positivists; but even to them they might appeal irresistibly, upon their own principles, to support the bill, if they set aside all questions of the final cause, and accepted it as an experiment. It had been well said that every social truth and every public reform had to pass through three stages; first the stage of neglect, secondly of the epigram, thirdly the guillotine, and finally, universal acceptance. As to the third stage, the temper of the times had removed the possibility of that, although, as the blood of the martyrs was said to be the seed of the Church, it was questionable whether that was a subject for congratulation. The first stage, that of neglect, had certainly been passed, but the stage of ridicule had not, in his opinion, entirely ceased; and even from this they might derive encouragement, for it showed that the time had come when an endeavor should be made to bring men to a more serious frame of mind. The project was no longer an idea, but came before the public in a practical form, and in a manner that must secure for it ultimate success. The resolution was then put and carried. Other remarks by Sir C. W. Dilke, Mr. P. A. Taylor, M. P., and Mr. Stansfeld, M. P., followed, the meeting afterward being adjourned.

## *WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.*

THE RECOMMENDATION IN ITS FAVOR BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE VERMONT COUNCIL OF CENSORS.

THE Committee of the Vermont Council of Censors, which has just reported in favor of so amending the State Constitution as to allow women to vote, are described as being all straight-forward, practical men—not sentimentalists, nor reformers, in the common acceptation of the term. They are substantial and prominent men in the State, and have all seen something of public life. All are by profession lawyers, and actively engaged in politics—one a Democrat and the other two Republicans. Their action has naturally taken the people of the State by surprise. Many think that some of them acquiesced in the report as a good method to bring the subject before the people.

The Committee, in their report, after quoting from the Declaration of Independence the assertion that "all men are created equal," and that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and also from the first clause of our own State Constitution the statement that "all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights, among which are the defending and enjoying life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety," proceed to say:

"We all believe these to be self-evident propositions, and that they apply to all mankind, man and woman alike. Suffrage is an expression of opinion by ballot. The qualifications are, capacity to understand the effect of public measures and a desire for the public welfare. And it is the right of any one person who possesses these qualifications, as much as it is the right of any other. But one-half of the people of our State are denied this right, and woman has no vote. Yet she has all the qualifications—the capacity, the desire for the public welfare. She is among the governed. She pays taxes. Even-handed justice, a fair application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of our State Constitution, above quoted, give woman the ballot, and do not shut out from it one-half of the intelligence and more than one-half of the moral power of the people. Custom and prejudice alone stand in the way. There is no reason why woman should not be allowed to do what she is so eminently fit to do. We have seen no objection to woman suffrage that has not been successfully met. We know no good reason why the most ignorant man should vote and the intelligent woman be refused. Our present political institutions were formed and shaped when men had their chief interests and pursuits out of doors, and women remained the humble slaves at home. The social change has been immense. Now woman sits by the side of man, is his companion and associate in his amusements, and in all his labors, studies, pursuits and interests, save the one of governing the country. And it is time that she should be his associate in this. The position of woman in regard to the common schools of the State is the most absurd and unjust that can be imagined. She must always be the chief instructor of the young in point of time and influence. She is their best teacher at home and in the school. And her share in this ever-expanding work is becoming vaster every day. Woman as mother, sister, teacher, has an intelligence, a comprehension of the educational needs of our youth, and an interest in their development, far in advance of the other sex. She can organize, control and teach the most difficult school in the State; yet she has no vote in the selection of teachers, the building, arrangements and equipment of school-houses, neither in the method and extent of instruction. She can pay her share of the expenses of schools, but can have no legal voice in their management. She can teach, but she can have no vote in determining what shall be taught. She is the very corner-stone of institutions which she has no lawful vote in shaping. Suffrage alone can carry woman's equal right and privilege into the district school. And especially let us have her open, avowed and public responsibility and coöperation—always safer than direct influence—always more honest and efficient than a kitchen cabinet. This subject is one that promises to engross the thoughts of this generation, and it will be agitated till in the progress of events the right of woman to vote will not be questioned. This result is just as certain as it is that in the end the cause of truth ever triumphs. We believe that woman, married or unmarried, was made to be the companion of man and not his mere servant; that she has the same right to control her property that he has to control his; that she has the same right to aspire to any occupation, profession or position, the duties of which she is competent to discharge, that he has. A right is worth nothing without the power to protect it. The ballot alone can do this. When the black man of the South was made a free man, the ballot was given him as the only sure mode of protecting his freedom and the equal rights freedom confers. And we should glory in seeing Vermont, first of all lands, accord to woman her equal rights before the law, and invest her with their only safeguard, the right of suffrage. After abolishing human slavery, the next great conquest of the United States over wrong and error, will be to take woman from the feet of man and place her by his side, invested with every right and privilege of her present 'lord and master' that the law can confer. And in this is involved his highest interests. Whatever will elevate her will elevate him. That they rise or sink together all history shows."

They quote quite extensively the speeches of Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis, and refer the Council for views in which they say they concur, to the speech of John Stuart Mill in the British Parliament, May 20, 1867, and to the recent report of the Joint Special Committee on Woman Suffrage to the Senate of Massachusetts, May 21, 1869.

## *LITERARY.*

*The Phrenological Journal* for September contains the portraits and biographies of John Rogers, the designer and modeler of the well known "Rogers' Groups;" Jos. A. Wright, ex-governor of Indiana, and late Minister to Prussia; Von Baer, the Russian Naturalist; Vinnie Ream, the Washington Sculptress; besides interesting articles illustrated and otherwise, on Heads large and small; Personal Beauty; St. Mark's Cathedral at Venice; Apoplexy, or the Philosophy of Sudden Death; the Rhinoceros; Controversy, its Uses and Abuses; Life Saving Apparatus; True Relation of the Sexes; A Visit to a Cloister, or the Ape men, by Carl Vogt; Presentiments, etc.

*The Illustrated Annual of Phrenology and Physiology for* 1870, by Prof. S. R. Wells, has been issued, and like its predecessors contains much valuable and interesting reading matter pertaining to phrenology and physiology. It contains sixty-seven pages.

A weekly journal is announced soon to appear, under the title of *Social Economy*, and will be published at the same time in Paris, London, Germany and New York, and will be the organ of the International Workingmen's Association.

Harper & Brothers have issued, in book form, paper cover, one hundred and twelve pages, *The Seven Curses of London*, by James Greenwood.

THE TEMPORARY HOME FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN at 24 Kneeland street, Boston, has now in charge two colored boys, about six years of age,—twins,—both interesting and capable; one remarkably bright and worthy of the best education. They are there waiting to be taken, or adopted by some family. No one who sees them fails to be struck with their noticeable ability. If any reader of this knows of any one wishing to adopt them, please address Mrs. Gwynn, No. 24 Kneeland street, Boston, Massachusetts.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

## Special Notices.

**SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.**

WE have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD a life-like, beautifully finished, medium-sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward, post paid, a copy of Mr. Phillips' photograph, the retail price of which is $2.50.

WE will send post-paid, to any one renewing a subscription for THE STANDARD and sending one new subscriber ($6); or remitting for two new subscribers ($6), a copy of ANNA E. DICKINSON'S new book, 301 pages, just issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, entitled "WHAT ANSWER?" As with her voice, so with her pen, Miss Dickinson pleads eloquently the cause of the still oppressed colored people. The story is one of thrilling interest, characterized by a noble purpose and high moral tone. It deserves, and will doubtless achieve, a wide circulation. Our premium offer puts it within easy each of thousands.

WE continue to offer to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6); either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters," 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's Romance of the Republic, 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court, 498 pages—price $2.50.

CLUB RATES.

We will hereafter send *The Radical* ($4.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, each one year to old, or new subscribers, the two for $5.50;—

*The Woman's Advocate* ($2.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $4.00;—

*The Herald of Health* ($2.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50;—

*Merry's Museum* ($1.50 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50.

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# Miscellaneous Department.

## BUTTERFLY AND THISTLE.

THE following poem, by Julia Ward Howe, will appear in the September number of *Hours at Home:*

Oh! delightsome butterfly
At thy morning revelry!
Little bark with sails lateen,
With a many-colored sheen,
Like some fairy craft that flies
Where smooth-mirrored Venice lies.

Wings that thrill and flutter ever,
Mocking every rude endeavor,
With the passion of the speech
Set beyond thine insect reach.
Would we grasp thee, as men rush
After gold, or glory's flush,
Ill the hand of might we trust,
For thy feathers are but dust—
Say to our unloved insistance
"Beauty shows but in God's distance."

This purple thistle is to thee
An islet in the summer sea
That images eternity.
As I ponder and rehearse
This poor idle morning's verse,
Here joy anchored thou remainest
And thy brief elysium drainest.

Breezy zephyr sweeps the fields,
And the thistle sways and yields,
But the butterfly clings fast
As a sailor to the mast,
As a banner in the blast
Which, when widest sweep its folds,
Firmest still its proud slave holds.

I who picture thee, this hour
Thus am clinging to my flower.
Winds on lofty errand sent
Question me with sharp intent—
"Where's thy honey? where thy song?
Bee or bird, thou doest wrong."

Still I seek one last caress,
One more breath of joyousness.
Oh! my flower, the wealth thou hast
Softly in my soul hath passed.
When the happy summer day
That unveiled thee flits away,
When Love's bloom has hurried by,
Know, thy butterfly will die.
Bearing to some gentler zone
Thy lost spirit with her own.

Thee how soon may I behold
Lifeless in thy shroud of gold.
Nothing in thy plaintive death
Wholesome Nature threateneth.
No pale corpse, with loathed ill,
But the little wings are still.
Vain the thistle keeps its growth,
Vain the breeze his challenge bloweth;
Thy gay pennon floats no more
From the æther's meadow-shore.

Might I, when my day is done,
Fall like thee, oh winged one!
No contagion leave, nor soil,
But a pure and harmless spoil,
One might keep with relics rare,
Saying to the stranger's stare:
"This she was, and she was fair."

## *EDUCATION FOR GIRLS.*

BY MARY F. DAVIS.

NUMBER II.

*[Concluded.]*

THE best that has been said and done abroad, however, does not surpass the noble spirit of adoption shown by the President of the "New York State Eclectic Medical Society," Alexander Wilder, M. D., in his address at the late semi-annual meeting of that body. He said:

"While science, at our college, has been assiduously cultivated, from the first we have practically acknowledged the equal right of every human being to learn and to know that which pertained to the individual welfare. The classes have, each year, been open to students of both sexes, and the degree of this college has been conferred upon ten women as well as upon persons of the other sex. This is not liberality, it is not courtesy even, but simple justice. We are not anxious to blazon the matter abroad, but let those who speak of it be ready to proclaim that from the earliest period in its history our Eclectic College and the Eclectic School of Medicine has made no more distinction between one person and another, than did God himself when he dispensed the bounties of the universe equally to his creatures. Where distinctions exist, and an antipathy is indulged to the instruction of women in medical and surgical knowledge, there the spirit of Eclecticism is not supreme. Those who share our common humanity, our households, and our social life, are welcome to participate with us in the acquiring of useful knowledge, and in bearing the labors and responsibilities incident to our mundane life. Whatever vocation any person is fit to pursue, is a right which no true Eclectic, no true man will ever venture to gainsay. We rest the question there, and abide the decision of a candid public. It is our purpose to advance: not emulous to make innovations, but eagerly desirous to ascertain and obey the truth. The complaint that the labor of women is ill-remunerated is answered by the assertion that it is unskilled and therefore must be cheap. If female servants were educated they would demand higher wages. The same thing is true in every vocation. When we open our higher schools to women, we do our best to obviate this evil. In Russia, France, Switzerland, and England, women are instructed in medicine; and the freest of the nations cannot afford to be behind despotism."

At the June meeting of the "American Institute of Homeopathy" in Boston, a large majority of the members present voted in favor of so amending the constitution as to admit women to full membership, much to the honor of the Association. Oberlin College sent out Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, who, though restrained, while students, by sectarian influences, and held back from the full development of their oratorical powers, have since roused the States, from Maine to Louisiana, by the sweet music of their eloquence, to a realization of woman's wrongs and the advocacy of her enfranchisement. Antioch has a welcome for our daughters; and Matthew Vassar built on the fair banks of the flowing Hudson a lasting monument to his fame, in the form of an educational institution for girls which should rival the lordly colleges whose gates were shut against them.

That young ladies are equal to all the advantages afforded them in that first-class college, is amply shown by their skill and proficiency, as reported by a lady correspondent of the *New York Times* who attended the last commencement exercises. In gymnastics, and other branches of physical culture, in the sciences and arts, in original literary productions, in modern languages and the classics, they acquitted themselves well, and with the ease, grace and self-possession which indicate mastery of the subject. If there be any fault in the course of study, it is that the dead languages are made a necessary part of it. Says the reporter, "The Greek salutatory flowed in grand intonations from the lips of a fair girl;" and again, "Wednesday closed the programme which opened with the *Oratio Salutatoria*, showing that Latin as well as Greek is no stumbling-block to these avowed rivals of Harvard and Yale students." It may be fairly questioned whether, just when some of the first scholars in England and America are showing that the classics should be subordinated to more practical studies, it is wise to fashion Universities for women on the old model, and leave them no choice but to pursue the ancient to the exclusion of modern literature and the sciences which can be applied to every-day life. Whatever else a girl's education is, it should be practical and preparatory to the great work which she is here to do.

More and more is the conviction forced home upon the thoughtful mind that woman needs to be truly educated, not for her sake alone, but because of the important place she holds and is to hold in the world's advancing civilization. If he who provides the home and maintains it needs intelligence and skill, she must be equally equipped who introduces order and beauty, brings unformed material into shape and proportion fit for the table, the couch, the wardrobe, and the various apartments of the homestead, and holds the family by the golden ties of affection to the hearth-stone. If he who makes the laws and administers the affairs of Government needs to be clothed upon with wisdom, much more should she be thus endowed who, at the very heart of all government and society, sets in motion the springs of human thought and feeling, and gives the first bias to the souls which afterward constitute the nations. A mighty power is in the hands of woman, not alone to regulate communities and give direction to the affairs of State, though these lesser matters may yet be within her province, but to primarily give society its entire tone and tendency. Hence the altitude of civilization depends upon the status of woman. How blindly has mankind denied her those opportunities for development that are commensurate with her influence! How limited is the vision of those students of social science who do not see that on her enfranchisement and culture depends the well-being of humanity!

Many and encouraging as are the signs of the times, public opinion has yet a deep gulf of prejudice to span before woman can take her appropriate place in the educational spheres. But never in the history of the world was there so great need of her thorough culture. Such advance has been made in intellectual pursuits since the date of the American Revolution, that this seems almost the fruit-bearing period of the centuries, and woman must keep tally with the spirit of the age. Such a lack of acquaintance with the rudiments of learning as is shown in a letter purporting to have been written by the venerated mother of Washington, would no longer be tolerated even among school-girls, to say nothing of "the first families of the land." Unconsciously the progressive minds of the age expect and demand a fine, high culture of the womanly nature. Opportunity should equal this demand.

Interspersed through American society is a strata of noble girlhood and maturity. In all those contemptuous flings at the "girl of the period," "the modern women," etc., with which some of our current dailies abound, this class knows itself to be misrepresented and maligned. In it may be found the daughters of toil more frequently than of wealth; those who looking afar off to the advantages which ample means secure in schools like Antioch and Vassar, aspire with all their souls to such advantages. Supreme is their love of learning, and they would fain "rend the rock for secret fountains, and pursue the path of the illimitable wind for mysteries." Shall these noble girls be any longer compelled to give double the time and toil that their brothers do to earning the means necessary to reach their goal? Shall the injustice be continued of paying young women but half the wages of young men, for the same kind and amount of labor, thus making the task of clearing their own pathway to the temple of wisdom doubly long and arduous? Let justice be done to all, and we shall soon see the happy results in a higher type of womanhoodand of civilization.—*Banner of Light.*

## THE ELIXIR.

BY GEORGE HERBERT.

TEACH me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee;

Not rudely, as a beast,
To run into an action;
But still to make Thee prepossest,
And give it his perfection.

A man that looks on glass,
On it may stay his eye;
Or if it pleaseth, through it pass,
And then the heaven espy.

All may of thee partake:
Nothing can be so mean,
Which with his tincture (for thy sake)
Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine:
Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine.

This is the famous stone
That turneth all to gold:
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told.

## *WATER.*

VARIED, mighty, wonderful water! murmuring in the meadow brook, thundering in Niagara, madly rushing in rapid rivers, peacefully sleeping in woodland ponds, irregularly tumbling in the cascades of nature, evenly falling in the fountains of Art. Never the same wherever found—cold in the mountain glacier, hot in the boiling Geyser spring, salt in the ocean, fresh in the river, falling from the eye for joy and for sorrow, pure and light in clouds high up in heaven, dark and heavy down in some subterranean well, now a clear lake reflecting moonlight and forest leaves, then a stagnant pool spitefully splashing the passing wheel. The universal liquid freezes in icicles, it tumbles over rocks, dashes in breakers against the seashore; it rises in vapor, falls in snow-flakes, in hailstones, in rain-drops; it is the home of the mermaid and water-nymph, it rings the sleigh bells, causes the skater to feel what life is, issues in feathery puffs from the locomotive, makes a snowy crown for the mountain summit, and a silvery flute for the valley.

Bright water glitters on the grass-blades in the early morning, and makes the trees look in winter as if King Solomon's palace had been shattered to pieces and showered on each one. Musical water sings in the tea-kettle, plays tunes for the flowers and would make you think that the fairies were having a dance as it patters down on your roof on summer nights. Wonder-working water makes green the banks of streams, converts dust into mud, helps to paint the rainbow, draws curious pictures on your winter windows, and carves out marvellous designs in the solid rock, which make adjectives faint away, and man drop his tools in dazzled dismay.

Life giving, life destroying water! falling in soft drops that revive the fainting flower, or in hard lumps that kill the tender plant; awakening the stagnant blood of the invalid with a spirited shower-bath; generating miasma and disease in stagnant swamps; descending in plentiful showers that make the farmer's crops rejoice, then rising in a terrible flood and sweeping away farmers and crops together; restoring the faint to consciousness, and sending the shipwrecked mariner to his everlasting sleep.

Water is used for pleasure and for profit. For pleasure in the pretty garden ponds that we see, where the swans look down at the goldfishes, and the water lilies look up at the swans; in fountains that Eve might have liked in her garden, in rainbow soap-bubbles and round snow-balls, down to the seashore where bathers resort, in ponds where swimmers ape the frog and boatmen sing "Row, Brothers, Row." For profit, when it cooks food and washes clothes, makes the mill go round, propels the steamboat and car, gains the victory over fire, is confined in pipes, when it aids the miner or is used by the milkman, and especially when it affords the means of intercourse between the most distant of the sons and daughters of Adam. Water, like fire, is a good servant but a poor master; yet, when we read of the bursting of water pipes, of tempests by sea and land, the ease with which dykes and embankments are swept away, of Canute and his flatterers, Noah and his ark, of majestic icebergs that say "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," it seems absurd to call water a servant. There is in it a dashing inherent freedom, which make it at best but an unruly one. Artful, yielding, coaxing water, is gradually overcoming the solid land. Already it flows over three-fourths of the earth, and the voice of the ever-moving tides are always crying "More! more!" JUVENIS.

## ABRAHAM DAVENPORT.

DARK DAY—1780.—The following poem by Whittier is seasonable in view of the eclipse:

In the old days (a custom laid aside
With breeches and cocked hats), the people sent
Their wisest men to make the public laws.
And so, from a brown homestead, where the Sound
Drinks a small tribute of the Mianas,
Waved over by the woods of Rippowams,
And hallowed by pure lives and tranquil deaths,
Stamford sent up to the councils of the State
Wisdom and grace in Abraham Davenport.

'Twas on a May day of the far old year,
Seventeen hundred eighty, that there fell
Over the bloom and sweet life of the spring,
Over the fresh earth and the heaven of noon,
A horror of great darkness, like the night
In day of which the Norland sages tell,—
The Twilight of the Gods. The low-hung sky
Was black with ominous clouds, save where its rim
Was fringed with a dull glow, like that which climbs
The crater's sides from the red hell below.
Birds ceased to sing, and all the barn-yard fowls
Roosted, the cattle at the pasture bars
Lowed, and looked homeward; bats on leathern wings
Flitted abroad; the sounds of labor died;
Men prayed, and women wept: all ears grew sharp
To hear the doom-blast of the trumpet shatter
The black sky, that the dreadful face of Christ
Might look from the rent clouds, not as he looked
A loving guest at Bethany, but stern
As Justice and inexorable Law.

Meanwhile, in the old State House, dim as ghosts,
Sat the law-givers of Connecticut
Trembling beneath their legislative robes.
"It is the Lord's Great Day! Let us adjourn,"
Some said; and then, as if with one accord,
All eyes were turned to Abraham Davenport.
He rose, slow cleaving with his steady voice
The intolerable hush. "This well may be
The Day of Judgment which the world awaits;
But be it so or not, I only know
My present duty and my Lord's command
To occupy till he come. So at the post
Where he hath set me in his providence,
I choose, for one, to meet him face to face—
No faithless servant frightened from my task,
But ready when the Lord of the Harvest calls;
And, therefore, with all reverence, I would say,
Let God do his work, we will see to ours.
Bring in the candles." And they brought them in.

Then by the flaring lights the speaker read,
Albeit with husky voice and shaking hands,
An act to amend an act to regulate
The shad and alewive fisheries. Whereupon
Wisely and well spake Abraham Davenport,
Straight to the question with no figures of speech
Save the nine Arab signs, yet not without
The shrewd dry humor natural to the man;
His awe-struck colleagues listened all the while,
Between the pauses of his argument,
To hear the thunder of the wrath of God
Break from the hollow trumpet of the cloud.

And there he stands in memory to this day,
Erect, self-poised, a rugged face, half seen
Against the background of unnatural dark,
A witness to the ages as they pass,
That simple duty hath no place for fear.

SUN-BATHS cost nothing, and are the most refreshing, life-giving baths that one can take, whether sick or well. Every housekeeper knows the necessity of giving her woolens the benefit of the sun, from time to time, and especially after a long rainy season or a long absence of the sun. Many will think of the injury their clothes are liable to from dampness, who will never reflect that an occasional exposure of their own bodies to the sunlight is equally necessary to their own health. The sun-baths cost nothing, and that is a misfortune, for people are still deluded with the idea that those things only can be good or useful which cost money. Let it not be forgotten that three of God's most beneficent gifts to man—three things the most necessary to good health—sunlight, fresh air and water, are free to all; you can have them in abundance, without money and without price, if you will. If you would enjoy good health, then see to it that you are supplied with pure air to breathe all the time; that you bathe for an hour or so in the sunlight; and that you quench your thirst with no other fluid than water.—*Journal of Health:*

Over our heart and into our lives
Shadows will sometimes fall;
But the sunshine is never wholly dead,
And heaven is shadowless overhead,
And God is over all.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BARBARA FRITCHIE.—Mr. Lewis H. Steiner of Frederick City, Maryland, writes to Gen. Hawley of the Hartford *Courant* concerning Whittier's heroine as follows:

"Barbara Fritchie (*not* Frietchie) was the widow of John C. Fritchie, deceased. She died during the winter of 1862-3, and was buried in the graveyard belonging to the German Reform Church of Frederick. She was an honest, earnest, faithful Christian woman, and an ardent lover of her country.

"During the passage of the rebel army through this place, in September, 1862, she kept a small flag in one of her windows. Her intolerance of the rebels was so extreme that she is said to have used her cane with great briskness in clearing her porch from a number of them, during the occupancy of Frederick, and to have employed terms far from complimentary while thus engaged. When our own troops entered, on Friday evening before the battle of South Mountain, Reno is said to have been so struck with her enthusiastic waving of the flag at the window that he asked her age and called upon his men to give 'three cheers for the loyal grandmother.'

"Although most of Lee's army passed by her house, it is asserted—and probably with truth—that Jackson himself did not pass directly by the same, but through an alley which crosses the street obliquely, at a short distance west of it.

"Whittier has evidently taken as a fit nucleus for an exquisite poetic ideal this brave, honest old patriot, who certainly kept her flag up when others pulled theirs down, who so disliked traitors to her country that she couldn't tolerate them even on her porch, and whose enthusiasm and venerable appearance provoked one of our brave officers to call upon his men to cheer her.

"I believe the foregoing paragraphs contain the facts upon which Whittier has framed the poem which has linked Barbara Fritchie's name to immortal verse."

## AFFECTION.

I HAVE thought
A brother's and a sister's love was much;
But the affection of a loving child
For a fond father, gushing as it does
With the sweet springs of life, and living on
Through all earth's changes, like a principle,
Chastened with reverence, and made more pure
By early discipline of light and shade,
It must be holier. WILLIS.

## *A STEP TO THE PACIFIC.*

THE agents of the Kansas Pacific Railway, present, in another column, an enterprise possessing features which seem to merit special comment. Having built their road from Kansas City to Sheridan, and found it a profitable and promising investment, the managers now propose to continue it to Denver, and thus open up the trade of the Rocky Mountains. That much, it is hoped, will be completed by June next; and its agents, Messrs. Dabney, Morgan & Co., M. K. Jessup & Co., Bankers and Merchants of high reputation, now tender through our columns, a loan of $6,500,000 for this purpose.

These gentlemen state with clearness the reasons which have induced them to give this loan their indorsement. The Kansas Pacific Railway now runs through the centre of Kansas, and is in successful and profitable operation for over four hundred miles. We remember the country through which it passes as a wide, open plain, apparently as boundless and rolling as the sea, known only to a few tribes of wild, roving Indians, and occasionally to a venturesome squad of stage-guards and herdsmen, who ministered a primitive hospitality every fifteen or twenty miles. Topeka, Salina and Manhattan were little more than the geographical designations of towns that hoped to be. Hays, Ellsworth, Sheridan and the twenty stopping places now upon its time-table, did not exist, even in the imagination of the pioneers. Denver was a mere cluster of mining cabins and Indian huts. The Cheyennes and Arrapahoes held solemn council or high revelry in its ways. There was no law but a great deal of rude, summary justice, which grieved sober believers in *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury. Now, Denver is as neat, well built and comfortable as Hartford, with schools and churches, rows of brick stores, hotels and tasteful dwellings, which recall the luxury and comfort of the East. Nature has rimmed and fringed it with the noble Rocky Mountains, whose hills glisten in snow, while their sides are clothed with deep and rich midsummer greenery.

It is now proposed to unite this city with the East by an extension of the Kansas Pacific Railway. To do this it will be necessary to build 220 miles of road. The Managers are wise not to defer it, in the vain hope of being able to induce Congress to vote them large subsidies. The Government has built one road to the Pacific at a great expense. Private citizens are quite ready and willing to build another, especially when those who ask their aid can show as good a balance sheet as the Kansas Managers. St. Louis is on the natural route from New York to the Rocky Mountains and San Francisco. It is the metropolis of the mighty Valley of the Mississippi; and the extension of this road is a new and important step in the great highway between St. Louis and San Francisco. The Union Pacific (Omaha) Road has as much business as it can manage; and we have grave doubts whether it will be able to keep open a through route amid the midwinter snow and ice of the Sierra Nevadas. A through road must finally traverse the warm countries of New Mexico and Arizona, along the thirty-fifth parallel or below it. Gen. Palmer has surveyed a route where snow rarely falls—every mile of which opens rich mining deposits. It embraces the oldest towns on the continent. The country demands such a road, and this extension is a step toward completing it.

It is interesting to note the progress of a railway which draws its business from a country ten years ago conceded to the buffalo and the aborigines. In April, the Kansas Road earned, in gross income, $217,914.49, of which $93, 291.61 were balanced by expenses, leaving a net profit of $124,622.88. In May, the earnings were $222,163.46; the expenses $107,987.77, leaving a profit of $114,175.69. Two months' aggregate, $238,798.57. There are few roads in our older and riper States that would not be content with as good a result. But the truth is, these new countries have much growth in them. We have but to touch our Western prairies and hills with the iron wand, and cities spring up, towns cluster along the streams and highways, and broad plains blossom with wheat, corn and barley; schoolhouses and churches take the place of the blockhouse and the fort, and the great rivers are disturbed by steam and water-wheel. So our civilization has marched over the prairies, is advancing over the plains, and in a few months we shall have the vast treasures of Colorado and the gold countries under contribution. The President, in his last Inaugural, pointed to these hills as the "strong box," whose treasures would pay the National debt. This railroad is the key to open it. We therefore look with pleasure upon this effort of private citizens to carry another road to the Pacific. We must have at least three railways across the continent. We must enable the Northern and Southern and Middle States respectively to reach the furthest West by the most convenient way. We look upon the State of Kansas with an interest not far removed from affection. This child of tears, and blood and agony, now marches to the dignity and grandeur of an empire, and well deserves the proud, fond name of "the Massachusetts of the West." To this road she owes much of her prosperity; and now, that its owners propose to carry it to Denver, and wed the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi Valley, we hail them as men doing great National service, and earnestly hope they will receive from our people prompt and earnest support. The loan they offer is certainly a good one. It yields high interest in gold, has many years to run, is secured by large grants of land and a profitable railway, and is endorsed by men whose word gives it the force of an irrefragable guarantee.—*New York Tribune.*

THE dispute on psalm-singing has broke out in an unexpected quarter. Some of the "Scotch-Irish" convicts in an Irish prison have petitioned the chaplain not to use hymns in worship, but the psalms of David, as the former are not inspired. They have finally been persuaded to yield their preferences. The *Pall Mall Gazette* says that if the convicts had shown the same reverence for inspired writing before their incarceration as they now show, they would have saved themselves much trouble and the country much expense.

BROTHER W——, a Presbyterian minister, said that, early in his ministry, he and a Brother H—— were conducting a meeting, in which there was much religious interest. An old man gave expression to his joy by shouting, and continued it until it began to interrupt the services. Brother H—— said to Brother W——, "Go, stop that old man's noise." He went to him and spoke a few words, and the shouting man at once became quiet. Brother W—— asked Brother H——, "What did you say to the old man that quieted him so promptly?" Brother H—— replied, "I asked him for a dollar for foreign missions."

LET takers of bitters and those who pleasantly delude themselves with the idea that their existence needs stimulants, read what Dr. W. W. Hill says in the *Journal of Health.*

If in medicine a tonic is taken for a few days to increase the appetite or digestion, the system seems to look for it; and as all tonics contain alcohol, multitudes become, in effect, drunkards before they are aware of it. If any medicine is taken to regulate the digestion, that medicine soon becomes necessary to that regulation, and the man is doomed to make an apothecary's shop of himself for the remainder of his life.

## POWER OF GOODNESS.

A SOLITARY blessing few can find;
Our joys with those we love are intertwined;
And he whose wakeful tenderness removes
The obstructing thorn which wounds the friend he loves,
Smoothes not another's heavy path alone,
But scatters roses to adorn his own.
Who blesses others in his daily deeds,
Shall find the healing that his spirit needs.
For every flower in others' pathway strewn,
Confers its fragrant beauty on our own.


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VOL. XXX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

AARON M. POWELL, EDITOR.

THE STANDARD advocates entire freedom and immediate enfranchisement for the colored race, as the demand of justice. Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured.

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MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

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